THE NEW REPUBLIC

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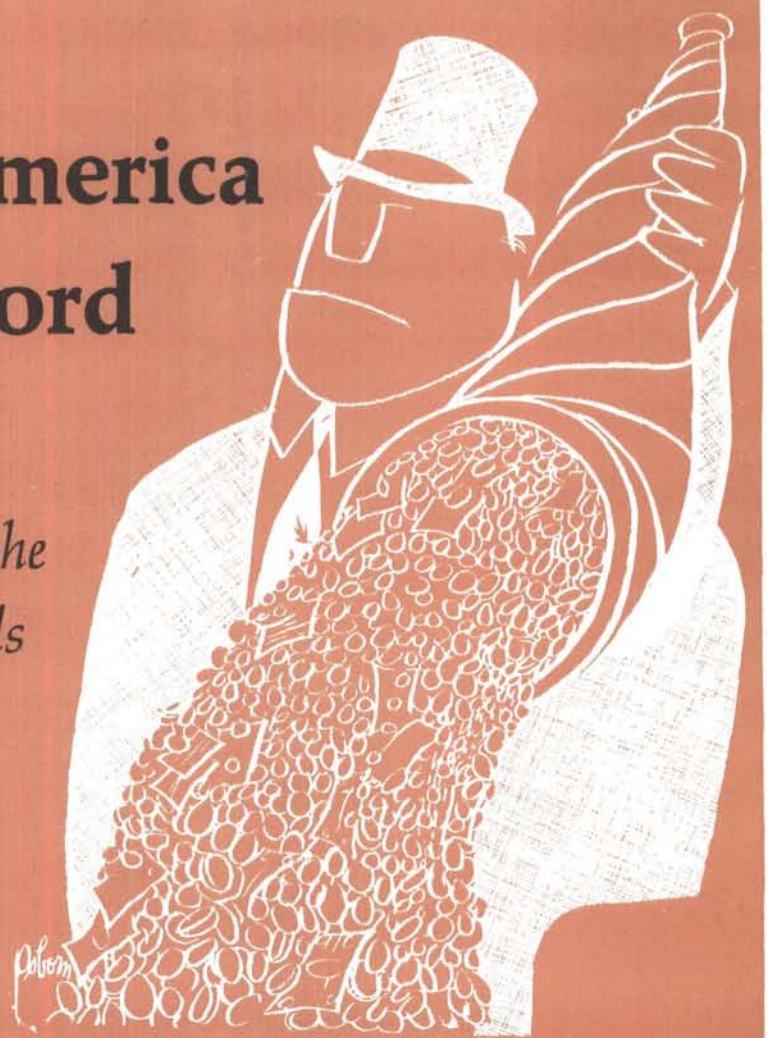
What America Can Afford

A review of the nation's needs in the 60's



March 7, 1960, 25 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Prince and the Preacher?

★ Britain and America are getting what they like most: columns and columns in London about the new prince and the royal romance; columns and columns at home about our preacher President's trip to Latin America. It's wonderfully relaxing to read the stuff if you have time for it, which mostly we don't.

We note, however, that Eisenhower publicly lauded Argentine President Frondizi for his austerity economy program. The Argentine Congressional elections come next month, and the Frondizi program is an issue. Personally, we shouldn't very much like to have a foreign visitor, Khrushchev say, come over here and praise one party in an election year.

A Question of Resolution

★ The big story in Washington is the Southern Senators' filibuster to prevent extension of Negro voting. This is dramatic because now it is a physical, not an intellectual contest: a question of brute force to try to wear down 18 to 20 elderly Southern obstructionists. Nobody doubts there is a big majority in the Senate for the bill. But is the majority determined? Will the majority grimly stay on hand to answer quorum calls? Perhaps thereby it may, for the first time, override a civil rights filibuster. One rubs one's eyes at the scene: in the jet age, in a world two-thirds non-white, in the midst of the Cold War, a century after Appomattox – a little group of irreconcilables is trying by simple physical obstruction to defeat parliamentarianism and an overwhelming majority on the crude issue of giving fellow Americans the right to vote! It is fantastic!

We suppose Chessman must die. He must go to the California gas chamber not for his wicked crimes of perversion and violence (of which we assume he is guilty though he pleads innocence) but because he has had the execrable taste of making a fool of us and our legal system. He was thrown into the juridical waters almost 12 years ago and instead of drowning promptly as any right-thinking sex pervert and robber would have done he has somehow kept himself alive. For that he must die. His guilt really is that he has been unpatriotic: he has made America ridiculous. One can feel the frustration and lynch feeling building up; some of our gentlest are most bloodthirsty. We want a scapegoat, not just for being made to look silly in the Chessman case but for all our world humiliations.

We wrote in this space on December 28: "A judicial system that takes 12 years to bring a death verdict to a conclusion ought, it seems to us, to confess failure." That appears to be the overwhelming opinion of the outside world in the Chessman case, from the *Osservatore Romano* downward. It only infuriates Americans the more. And how about the case of Henry Winston? He is one of the three Communists still imprisoned under the Smith Act. He has served four years. Norman Thomas points out that he is broken in health, blind in one eye, losing sight in the other, recovering slowly from a brain operation and once more refused a medical parole for which anyone but a political prisoner would almost certainly be eligible. The US cannot forgive him, but it can forget him.

Less Than The Best

★ The Administration is in real trouble over defense. Direct challenge of the Eisenhower Myth is spreading. This lonely column finds comfort in company. Anxious GOP chairman Thruston Morton assails "play warriors" with "their paper hats and wooden swords" who criticize "soldier-statesman" Eisenhower. But consider recent testimony before the Jackson subcommittee of the Senate, all from impeccably conservative sources: Thomas J. Watson, Jr., head of the huge IBM Corporation, said he was scared and maybe the country needs more taxes. Republican banker Robert Sprague (head of the group that wrote the suppressed Gaither report): "The danger is more serious than the President has expressed." Williams College president James P. Baxter said that he hated "inflation" but that we should spend more for security. And Wall Street Republican banker Robert A. Lovett (former Defense Secretary) said the country is "doing less than its best." These solemn warnings are not from radicals, not from partisan Democrats, not from disgruntled military men. Eisenhower is not likely to switch positions, however. He has only just appointed his "National Goals Commission," and won't know what our national goals are till next December.

Protestants on the Defensive

★ When Sen. Jack Kennedy decided to run for the Presidency we had some fear that American Catholics would be put on the defensive. On the contrary, the Air Force Manual charging that Communists have infiltrated the churches, and Air Force Secretary Sharp's failure to repudiate it before Chairman Walter's House Un-American Activities Committee, put American Protestants on the defensive. We look forward with some interest to the Protestant clergy's response to its new role of "guilt."

Wanted: Bogey

★ The Democratic majority of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee declares that "in the last two years our price levels have been as stable as at any time in our history, yet this is the time when the Administration renewed its fight on 'inflation'." As this column has pointed out, the big 1958-59 inflation scare drove up the stock market. Failure of the inflation bogey to materialize, however, dropped the stock market in January by some $28 billion in paper values; the steepest January drop, we believe, in history. Wall Street now badly needs more White House inflation talk to bolster artificial stock prices, but the cost of living remains aggravatingly level. During the anti-inflation drive, incidentally, unemployment for 1959 (a so-called "prosperous" year) averaged 5.5 percent as compared to 5.6 percent in 1954, a recession year); the US economy has grown by only 2.3 percent between 1953-59, and the nation has the highest interest rate in 35 years.

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Cartoons:
The Washington Post

Correspondence which *The New Republic* has received concerning William Clancy's review in the February 22 issue of Paul Blanshard's *God and Man in Washington* has been large enough and one-sided enough to justify one's asking this question: How many "liberals" believe there is a "Catholic conspiracy," led by the priests, abetted by Catholic laymen and aimed at imposing an "authoritarian" order on the United States? Mr. Blanshard appears to be one of that number. He finds something sinister, for example, in the fact that the reviewer of his book and the book editor of this journal are both Roman Catholics, though presumably he would not have been disturbed had they both been Protestants, Jews, Buddhists or agnostics. He sees something mysterious in Mr. Clancy's religious affiliation having been "concealed," thus suggesting that writers of reviews in *The New Republic* should be identified by creed.

What kind of cloak-and-dagger is this? Mr. Blanshard's book is very largely about Catholic influence in this country. Why should it not be criticized by an intelligent Catholic? Does "fairness" dictate that regardless of qualifications – and Mr. Clancy's are high – no Catholic should be invited to respond to Mr. Blanshard's provocative thesis – or not in this magazine? Censorship, as Mr. Blanshard has often pointed out, is detestable, but it cuts both ways.

If we understand it rightly, Mr. Blanshard's running battle with Roman Catholics has less to do with theology than with politics. He is not apprehensive about the Catholic Church because of its attitude toward salvation, but because of its alleged effort to control the temporal society. The Catholic Church *is* highly and tightly organized in a manner which distinguishes it from other denominations, but how accurate is the picture of that Church as a monolithic secular force, conspiring to curtail the liberties of non-Catholics? A realistic answer has been given by John C. Bennett, a Protestant and Dean of the Union Theological Seminary. He points out that the view is widely held by American Catholics that our society is one in which there should be "religious liberty for non-Catholics on principle and not merely as a matter of pragmatic adjustment to the American situation." And he believes it is "quite certain that any Catholic layman who reaches the point where he can be considered a likely candidate for President will be sufficiently influenced by the democratic ethos to represent that position."

But, Mr. Blanshard might reply, what of the doctrinaire views of the Catholic hierarchy on aid to education, on birth control or freedom of

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expression? Two things need to be said here: First, the uniformity of Catholic opinion is greatly exaggerated; and second, the debate on these questions becomes debased and unenlightening when the issues are presented for discussion as if they were "Catholic issues." The springs that freshen a free society are poisoned whenever differences of opinion are distorted to the point where to disagree becomes to conspire. There have been and will be many instances where the position of individual Catholics or Catholic organizations should be opposed – in our judgment birth control is one such instance – but that opposition is misconceived which begins by challenging the good faith of the other side, or presumes that Catholics are less dedicated than others to education or liberty.

From the Know-Nothing Movement in the 19th Century to the Klan and the anti-Semitic *Bunds* in the 20th Century, we have had painful experience with those who conjure up a monolithic menace. If Richard Nixon makes many people uneasy, it is in part because of his insinuations that his opponents were in league with evil forces and were less than totally loyal to American institutions. Both Joseph McCarthy and the Communists breathed this foul air of plots and subterranean intrigues. It is an atmosphere stifling to candor and confidence, and without these qualities communities become suspicious and sick. It begins to be doubted whether it is wise or safe to permit this group or that to go about its business unmolested. The cry is heard that our way of life is imperiled; subversion must be exposed, and those who do not help expose it themselves become suspect.

Judging the Candidates

In 1960, the "Catholic issue" again moves onto the front pages since a Roman Catholic is a serious contender for the Presidency. It is both wrong and dangerous to say that a vote for Kennedy is a vote for the Catholic Church. But it would be equally wrong and dangerous for any supporters of Senator Kennedy to leave the impression that his rejection as a candidate would be a rejection of Catholics. Kennedy asks to be judged, and he will be judged, but by what standards? He has made his own position on the separation of Church and State perfectly clear. He asks to be judged by the standards applicable to all other candidates – personal competence and opinions. If his religious affiliation is used as a test of his worth, it will be a disgrace, profiting neither Mr. Kennedy nor the country.

Our pluralistic society makes some special demands on all groups, since no one group may have its way altogether. One demand it makes on non-Catholics is that they refrain from expecting Catholics to behave in all situations as Protestants do, and that they not assume that because Catholics do behave differently. they are not to be trusted. A case in point is the outcry that was heard when it was learned that Senator Kennedy once declined to participate in the dedication of a Protestant chapel in Philadelphia. He had first accepted the invitation but later withdrew, explaining that as a Roman Catholic he could not conscientiously participate in a religious service other than his own. His decision was seized upon as evidence of the hierarchy's power. Yet his position was entirely proper, for why should anyone having certain religious views be expected to behave as though he thought religious affiliation was a matter of indifference? That would be plain hypocrisy.

Churches and Public Affairs

The principle of separation of Church and State is a sound one and is not, so far as we are aware, under any attack that is likely to dislodge it in this country. But some take that principle to mean that no religious group should "get into politics." Religion, then, becomes separate not merely from the state but from life itself. Did the framers of the Constitution intend that religious bodies be denied not merely special privilege, but the ordinary privilege of passing resolutions, writing legislators or speaking publicly on matters of policy? We doubt it. But the corollary of this freedom is that no church is immune from criticism and if any church tries to put public education, the arts, entertainment or publishing in a strait-jacket it invites deserved censure.

Those who say that separation of Church and State requires silence on the part of religion where political matters are involved have argued that the influence of religious organizations on social affairs has been uniformly bad; the agitation of Protestant Churches for adoption of the 18th Amendment is the customary citation. The question, however, is not whether the influence of the churches and synagogues on public policies is good or bad; it is whether they shall have an unquestioned right to preach their gospels not only in the pulpits but on street corners or in the halls of Congress.

Sometimes the preaching falls on deaf ears, even when a church is preaching to its own parishioners. Thus, the National Catholic Welfare Conference has opposed federal aid to education that could be spent on teachers' salaries. Catholic bishops have communicated their disapproval to members of the United States Senate. Yet, several weeks ago the Senate passed an aid to education bill contrary to that desired by the bishops. It was complimented for doing so in these columns. And to those who believe in the reality of a "Catholic conspiracy," is it of no significance that among those Senators who voted for the bill were Eugene McCarthy, John Kennedy, Pat McNamara, Thomas Dodd, Philip Hart, Mike Mansfield, Ed Muskie and John Pastore – all Roman Catholics? Were they faithless sons of the Church? And if they had voted the other way, would they have been accused of being pawns of the hierarchy?

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Medical Care for the Aged

Eighty percent of the 16 million people aged 65 or over have annual incomes of less than $2,000 in this "affluent society." Sixty percent do not receive half that much. This (and additional evidence cited in the article in this issue on the nation's needs) is the hard statistical rock on which the Senate Subcommittee on the Problems of the Aging has built its recommendations.

Modern industrial society, says the Subcommittee, headed by Sen. Patrick J. McNamara (D, Mich.), now makes it possible for more and more men and women to live beyond the age when they are needed to provide the nation's goods and services. Whereas, in 1890, about 70 percent of all males 65 and over were in the labor force, only 34 percent are today. While the McNamara report does not say it plainly, the private pension movement has failed so far to provide large enough supplements to inadequate social security benefits – even for those few retired workers who are fortunate enough to be receiving both types of income. It is erroneous to believe that the aged do not need much more than what they get, or that their assets (including homes) are greater than other age groups. Neither is it humane or practical to argue that the 13 million people now retired in the United States should have known, when they were younger, that someday they would be old, and therefore should have been putting aside that "little nest-egg."

Ironically, it is the spokesmen for little government and rugged individualism who successfully wheedle American consumers into spending and overspending every cent of their earnings for the gadgets and appliances advertised so widely. Buy, buy now, and also take care of yourself in your old age.

As the Subcommittee points out, workers have no assurance that any savings they might have will not be depleted by unemployment or by the erosion of purchasing power through inflation. Moreover, in his testimony before the Subcommittee, Nelson Cruikshank of the AFL-CIO observed that if the 11 million people now drawing social security benefits had instead been required to lay aside money from their earnings, this would have taken from the economy $154 billion in purchasing power. One of the Subcommittee's interesting proposals calls for "government constant purchasing power bonds" in which pension funds and retirement annuity companies could invest, enabling them to adjust pension benefits to increased living costs. Individuals could also purchase them, but not fully benefit from their rise in value if the bonds are redeemed before retirement age.

Population pressures make the problem of the aged quite literally a multiplying one: If present trends continue, most grandparents will find themselves helping support great-grandparents. The report of the Subcommittee projects the probability within 40 years of two Americans over the age of 80 for every three persons aged 60-64.

The majority of the Subcommittee (McNamara, Kennedy, Clark and Randolph) has concluded from the testimony it has heard that federal legislation is called for to help the aged in one important way – meeting the high costs of medical care. They propose that this be done through an expansion of the social security system. Several methods are under consideration, notably that of Aime Forand (D, R.I.) in the House, which would provide varying combinations of medical benefits. Senator Kennedy would include in these benefits such preventive measures as early medical diagnosis and modern restorative services. Any of the contemplated measures would be to the good and would serve to slow down the current over-utilization of hospitals which has contributed to the ever-rising cost of hospital insurance.

Prompted by the Subcommittee's report and the prospect of popular legislation bearing a Democratic label, there have reportedly been a great many interdepartmental meetings held to put forward something which can satisfy both the desires of voters in an election year (Mr. Nixon is said to be personally badgering the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and the objections of the American Medical Association and the commercial insurance companies to a federal health program. The American Hospital Association, which privately admits the need for some federal action, has been talked into silent neutrality, but the AMA contends still that government intervention is unnecessary. The *AMA News* in a recent issue published a study showing that only 9.6 percent of those 65 and over could not pay a $500 medical bill. Any reference to the sacrifices made to do so – perhaps by selling a home – was omitted. The AMA favors more private charity, voluntarily reduced fees for older patients and a "wait-and-see" policy toward liberalizations of commercial insurance programs. But the AMA is a doctors' lobby and not necessarily the most enlightened or objective authority on the medical problems of the aged. Their proposals would tend to enlarge the already back-breaking burden carried by local public assistance funds and send up the fees paid by younger patients.

Congressman Forand is working for his bill's adoption in spite of an apparent lack of enthusiasm by Wilbur Mills, powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which must pass on the legislation. The effectiveness of the AMA's campaign among its own members against the Forand Bill can be measured by the abusive letters Forand receives from physicians. The AMA, speaking for the medical profession, is willing to take large credit for the population's increased longevity, but less responsibility for developing those programs needed to deal with the consequences of medical progress.

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Teaching Science

Some months ago an editorial on these pages suggested that most high school science teaching was a waste of time and money. The argument was that most high school science teachers have little feeling for scientific research, and therefore make their students think science is a body of theoretical formulae and experimental tricks – a kind of technologist's carnival.

Outraged protests poured in and suggested some further questions about the problem. Some pointed out that while high school science is not taught by scientists, high school English is not taught by poets; and that a man doesn't have to do creative work in order to teach well. But is there not an important difference between physics and poetry? You don't have to be a poet to be part of the intellectual and literary community. Great poetry is written for laymen as well as other poets, and even T. S. Eliot is accessible to the diligent reader. Science is different. Very little scientific research is today comprehensible to the layman, or even to the semi-professional high school teacher or journalist. Certainly this is too bad. Poets and historians and politicians should be at home in science, just as scientists should be familiar with poetry and history and politics. But today they aren't. Very few men straddle what C. P. Snow has called "the two cultures," even among the most creative and imaginative minds of the age, much less among high school teachers trying to decipher physics to non-scientists. After all, if organic chemists cannot talk to physical chemists, and solid state physicists only yawn when their colleagues talk about high energy phenomena, how is the poor high school teacher to understand, much less communicate, their adventure.

Other readers suggested that even if the high schools could not help students to glimpse what was being done on the frontiers of knowledge, they could at least give students some basic information: If science teachers can't understand Einstein, then Newton is better than nothing. Perhaps this is true. But the physics teacher who doesn't know enough mathematics to understand modern physics is like the traditional English teacher who has read no poetry since Housman. It isn't that the work of Shakespeare and Milton and Wordsworth has changed since these teachers were in college, or that these poets are no longer worth knowing about. The trouble is that a teacher who doesn't read new poets almost always regards old poetry not as a clue or a jolt to experience, but as an "achievement" – a body of great thoughts and feelings with which it is proper to be acquainted. Teachers who know nothing of modern science suffer from the same disease. They teach children that science is a collection of facts and formulae, and stultify youthful curiosity as surely as school marms have stultified the nation's poetic sensibility.

Some of our readers urged that while many high school science teachers neither loved nor understood discovery, there were a growing number who could give their students a curiosity and perspective which might encourage them later to become scientists, and which would serve them well no matter what they became. Of course there are such teachers, just as there are teachers who can make Milton come to life. But these are a rare breed. They cannot be conjured out of the air by culture-hungry communities which want a high school to meet Dr. Conant's 21 criteria of adequacy. Such communities install physics or poetry in the curriculum without finding men who love and understand these subjects. And when physics is taught by a teacher who does not feel himself part of the scientific community, or when poetry is taught by a teacher who is not part of the intellectual community, what does the student actually learn? We suspect that he learns that poetry and physics are arid and boring things, to be avoided at almost any price, instead of learning that they are tools for exploring himself and the world.

Strategists in the Senate

As the curtain goes up on the fiery theatrical known as the 1960 Civil Rights Debate, the senior producers are backstage working on the last act of the script. Since even they are not certain how it all will end, it is useless to try to read their minds. But past performances and the present imperatives suggest one likely way out for all concerned.

Those who know Southern General Richard Russell well believe that he is prepared to settle for the 4-part pending House bill, including the addition of a weak amendment for federal election referees. Russell is concerned first with protecting his base in Georgia. As a parliamentarian he would also like to avoid creating a shambles in the Senate. If Russell can get through this session of Congress without a declaration of Congressional support for the Supreme Court's decrees on school segregation and executive policy against job discrimination – both of which are contained in the Dirksen Senate bill supported by his opposition – he will be delighted. And after a proper show of outraged innocence, he can be expected to sound an orderly retreat of his forces.

This would probably suit General Lyndon Johnson too. His confidants feel that it should be enough to earn him national acceptance as a moderate that he craves, if the Congress that he leads passes any kind of substantial civil rights bill this year. And even the House bill with the contemplated referee amendment would represent a bigger step forward than did the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Probably Johnson would like to avoid a struggle to invoke cloture – and Russell would too: It will be a bitter day for the South when it is demonstrated that even their strongest filibuster can be ended when the rest of

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the Senate determines to do it. But Johnson also needs his name on whatever measure does go through. That can probably be arranged if, as anticipated, Speaker Rayburn expedites matters to send the weaker House bill to the Senate before that body can dispose of the Southern filibuster and begin voting on its own bill. Johnson could then offer his own, perhaps indistinguishable, Johnson substitute and win House agreement to it as the final version. Then the curtain could come down until after the election.

Example from Missouri

Most state governments keep their inactive funds in banks, and in most states, the bankers make a good thing out of it, paying much lower interest on this "time-deposit" money than the ordinary citizen can get on his savings account.

For many years, in fact, the Missouri Constitution prohibited the state from collecting any interest at all on its inactive funds, neatly divided among several hundred Missouri banks. Three years ago, however, the people amended the state constitution so as to permit collection of such interest. But the powerful Missouri Bankers' Association had other ideas. It got the legislature to pass an enabling act which provides that the state must be able to withdraw its funds from any bank at no more than 30-days notice. This effectively limits the interest the state can charge to one percent, since that is the legal limit of interest on 30-day deposits.

The state keeps about $40 million in time deposits in about 400 banks. As against nothing before, it has been collecting $400,000 yearly at least. But "tight money" has driven up the interest the US Government now has to pay on short-term loans such as its 91-day bills, to more than four percent, as against about two percent when the Missouri law was passed. And these 91-day bills are the favorite recourse nationally of public agencies with funds temporarily to invest. Missouri, in other words, could be making $1.6 million yearly from its inactive funds, rather than making $400,000, and letting the bankers take the rest.

To aggravate the situation, it is said some banks have been keeping the money they owe the state in these very same federal short-term securities, and thus reaping the difference.

There is no law, however, that says that all this money has to be kept in banks. And despite the power of the Bankers' Association, Missouri Treasurer M. E. Morris got fed up. He has served notice on the banks that each state deposit of more than $25,000 will be cut by one-fourth, and the money invested directly in governments. He said it is just fiscal foolishness for the state to forego the income, when it is so hard up for money. The total amount involved is expected to be about $9 million.

Conflicts of Interest

"The proper operation of a democratic government requires that officials be independent and impartial; that government decisions and policy be made in the proper channels of the governmental structure; that public office not be used for personal gain; and that the public have confidence in the integrity of its government. The attainment of one or more of these ends is impaired whenever there exists, or appears to exist, an actual or potential conflict between the private interests of a government employee and his duties as an official. The public interest, therefore, requires that the law protect against such conflicts of interest and establish appropriate ethical standards with respect to employee conduct in situations where actual or potential conflicts exist.

"It is also fundamental to the effectiveness of democratic government that, to the maximum extent possible, the most qualified individuals in the society serve its government. Accordingly, legal protections against conflicts of interest must be so designed as not unnecessarily or unreasonably to impede the recruitment and retention by the government of those men and women who are most qualified to serve it. An essential principle underlying the staffing of our governmental structure is that its employees should not be denied the opportunity, available to all other citizens, to acquire and retain private economic and other interests, except where actual or potential conflicts with the responsibility of such employees to the public cannot be avoided."

These thoughtful, remarkably unstatutory phrases are the preambulatory words of the bill introduced into Congress last week by Senators Javits and Keating and Rep. John Lindsay, "to supplement and revise the criminal laws prescribing restrictions against conflicts of interest applicable to employees of the Executive Branch of the Government of the United States. . . ." The bill, and an exhaustive 600-page report, are the product of two years of labor by a Special Committee on Federal Conflict of Interest Laws of the New York City Bar Association. The Special Committee is composed of lawyers with wide practical experience in and out of government: The Chairman is Roswell B. Perkins, young former counsel to Governor Rockefeller; and among the members are Samuel I. Rosenman, intimate adviser to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman; former NLRB Chairman Paul M. Herzog; Charles A. Coolidge, of the Boston bar; Charles A. Horsky, of the Washington bar; and Congressman Lindsay. Aided by generous financing from the Ford Foundation, a staff directed by Professor Bayless A. Manning of Yale Law School has worked with the members of the Special Committee in thinking through some of the problems of administration which have plagued American democracy from the beginning.

How does one guard against another Teapot Dome, or another Dixon-Yates? How does one, in advance,

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screen out of government services men like the luckless and tasteless Richard Mack, former Commissioner of the FCC? Is any real good accomplished by requiring bluff, incorruptible Charles Wilson to give up hundreds of thousands of dollars in a ritual divestment of his General Motors stock before permitting him to serve as Secretary of Defense? Was Mr. Wilson thereby purged of his life-long emotional identification with the enterprise he headed? ("What's good for General Motors is good for the US.") Are other men of comparable or greater ability, but lesser means, barred from public service by rules more rigid and antiseptic than they need to be?

It is to these and countless subtler problems that the Special Committee and its staff addressed themselves. They have concluded that our existing laws are a grab-bag of almost unenforceable penal statutes concerned primarily with manifest corruption and drafted for an era when government was simpler, when the boundaries between the public and private sectors were clearer. And so the Special Committee has proposed legislation which, (1) attempts comprehensively to define impermissible transactions and relationships; (2) distinguishes between career and genuinely temporary employees; (3) prescribes rules governing the post-retirement activities of government employees; (4) assigns to the President and a central administrator prime responsibility for fashioning detailed – and flexible – standards of behavior; and (5) authorizes a variety of sanctions which can be used selectively to meet situations ranging from the flagrantly corrupt to the venal or merely negligent.

Doubtless out of a sound political instinct, the proposals of new legislation do not address themselves to conflicts of interest in Congress itself. Moreover, an important philosophic difference between the legislative and executive functions requires differential treatment. As we have known since Madison's day, it is one of the prime functions of legislatures to act as the focal point of pressure groups. Out of their competition, national policy arises. To formulate general rules which divide licit from illicit behavior on the part of legislators and those who deal with them may be genuinely impossible. Certainly something closer to "feel" than fiat is in order.

As hearings go forward on the bill drafted by the Special Committee, the debt the nation owes to these hard-working lawyers will become increasingly apparent. They have worked diligently to unravel problems of even more intricate design than that found in Bernard Goldfine's carpet.

UNCONTESTED CANDIDATE – FOR THE FOURTH TIME

Rhee Ad Infinitum

Seoul, Korea

On many occasions during his threescore years of persistent pleading of Korea's case in courts and capitals from Geneva to Shanghai, 84-year-old Syngman Rhee has been told either subtly or directly to "go fly a kite." One day last month, in an obliging mood, he was doing just that on a vacant lot near the Capitol grounds in an opposition newspaper-sponsored kite-flying contest. Seemingly oblivious to another approaching election – his fourth Presidential contest on March 15, which fate later decreed he will win unopposed – Rhee delighted in knocking younger opponents' kites out of the sky.

Meanwhile, a quarter-of-a-mile down the avenue in the crowded Los Angeles Tea Room, leaders of the opposition Democratic Party were meeting in a less carefree mood. Their candidate for the Presidency, 65-year-old Chough Pyung Ok, had just undergone an operation for stomach tumors in the Walter Reed US Army Hospital. The operation was said to be successful, but Chough's scheduled return here near the end of the month, would have left him only about two weeks in which to campaign. Rhee's Liberal Party had announced the election date – previous Presidential elections have been held in May – soon after Chough's departure. To an American public that gets its interpretive stories on Korea from absentee pundits in Washington, or at best Tokyo, it was obvious that iron-fisted Rhee had set the date to take advantage of Chough's absence.

This superficial response, however, conceded nothing to Koreans' natural bent for intrigue. When he was drafted as the opposition candidate to Rhee at the Liberal Party convention in December, following an earlier dramatic withdrawal which he correctly surmised would rally his arguing party, Columbia University-educated Chough was keenly aware of two things: First, he was suffering from some kind of stomach ailment; doctors had been urging him to have a diagnostic operation to make sure there was no malignancy. Second, he knew Rhee's party would call for an early election to cut short the faction-riddled Democratic Party's campaign time.

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The Liberals had privately agreed on the March 15 election date before Chough's bombshell decision, substantiated by a board of American and Korean doctors, that he would have to go to the United States for an operation. It was a gamble, but a shrewd one. If it turned out that he had cancer, Chough would have to drop out of the race which would be fatal to Democratic chances. But if the operation were successful, American journalists would relay his hospital bed campaign speeches to sympathetic readers from Pittsburgh to Pusan. And so, armed with a cash donation from President Rhee, a press secretary, and "all expenses paid" by the US State Department, Chough set out.

Chough's popularity and wide respect in Korea were undisputed, especially in the urban areas. He was twice a Rhee appointee – chief United Nations observer in 1949 and minister of home affairs in 1950. He was the lone prominent politician to oppose Rhee's unilateral releasing of the anti-Communist prisoners of war in 1953 and fell from favor on that issue. His position in opposition to Rhee was further influenced by a beating he took at the hands of an "unidentified" mob following his stand on the prisoner question.

Just as Chough seemed to be convalescing satisfactorily, he died unexpectedly on the morning of February 14 in Walter Reed Hospital. The cause was heart failure due to general arteriosclerosis.

Chough's death, in addition to assuring Rhee's election and robbing the country of one of its most competent leaders, has also contributed to renewed factionalism in the Democratic Party. Members of the Chough moderate faction felt it was useless to spend campaign funds merely for the Vice Presidential race. They were in favor of concentration on rebuilding the party.

Incumbent Vice President John Chang, 60, who is again the opposition party's candidate for that office, is the leader of the reformist faction of the party and favors carrying out the election campaign as planned. A UN delegate in 1948 and 1950 and Prime Minister in 1950, Chang suddenly finds himself the unquestioned leader of the opposition. When he won the Vice Presidency in 1956, Chang was also running alone. His partner on the Democratic ticket, Presidential candidate Patrick Henry Shinicky, died of a heart attack 10 days prior to the election. Deceased Shinicky polled 1,858,002 votes anyway. to Rhee's 5,046, 437. The other candidate for President that year was the Progressive Party's Cho Bong Am (2,163,808 votes) who later was found guilty of involvement with a Communist espionage ring and executed. Chang himself was shot in the hand in an assassination attempt soon after taking office in 1956.

Rhee's adversary in Korea's first popular-vote Presidential election in 1952, Lee Si Yung, is also dead.

The deaths of Rhee's last four Presidential opponents, when seen against the background of a highly superstitious farming populace, suggests that *The Golden Bough* would be a more suitable primer for Korean politics than any political science textbook. One old Seoul gentleman was convinced the spirits had intervened: "Syngman Rhee's ancestors will not let him be defeated."

The Democrats' platform is unimaginative, stressing issues on which the Rhee administration is most often criticized: change to a cabinet-responsible system and abolition of authoritarianism, neutralization of police, and fair management of elections. The Democrats also claim US aid funds have kept the Rhee regime in power.

Chough's death is certain to touch off emotional displays from both parties. Chang's faction is not above such attention-getting tactics as election boycotts and fabrication of incidents. As a result, the election could be an explosive one. Most of the farmer-heavy electorate, wishing to aggravate neither Rhee's ancestors nor the equally ubiquitous but more real Liberal Party organization, is expected to vote a straight Liberal ticket. Rhee has gone on record as saying he won't assume office again if an opposition Vice President is elected as in 1956. The Vice Presidential race is therefore the crucial one. Rhee will be 85 on March 26. The new Vice President will have a good chance of succession, even though the aged leader's health is at present good. If this succession means a change in party, the change-over could be turbulent. Whoever follows Rhee as President will be less rigid, but certainly less experienced in international affairs; there would, undoubtedly, arise a whole new set of problems.

Democracy in Korea is something less than a "showcase." Still, seen on the spot and whenever one remembers the 40 years of totalitarian Japanese rule, enforced by a ruthless police system in which most of today's police leaders were trained, the progress has been considerable. Certainly the improvement has been marked since 1946 when there were 143 political parties and the Boy Scouts were disbanded for political "terrorist activities."

For the future of Korea and from the viewpoint of the United States, the manner in which the elections are conducted is probably of more significance than the individuals involved, since their policies vary but slightly. With only a frail "lobby" in the United States and with virtually no large private foreign investors to swing their public-relations guns to the defense, Korea is certain to be the target for Quemoy-like US election year bombardment. A Korean election marred with irregularities, coercion of voters, and police intervention in itself would be a source of embarrassment to the Republican Administration. It would also focus attention on the glaring US military weakness here in manpower and equipment, which is pertinent to the continuing Congressional debates on relative US-Communist strength and defense spending.

Edward Neilan

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EQUAL RIGHTS AT THE LUNCH COUNTER

Those Who Sit and Wait

Charlotte, N. C.

The lunch counter demonstrations have taken us aback. By reputation Piedmont, North Carolina, where the Negro college students began three weeks ago to demand sit-down service at 10-cent and department-store lunch counters, is the South's citadel of "moderation." Since the conquest of populism well over five decades ago, North Carolina's races have faced each other with comparative calm, broken only by the strange orgy of the Willis Smith-Frank Graham Senatorial election in the summer of 1950. Token desegregation under the Pupil Assignment Act passed by the General Assembly in 1955 has placed a small number of Negro high school students in Greensboro, Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Raleigh – an opening if not a breakthrough.

Negroes sit where they please on public transportation in these cities, most of which have emerged from the cocoon of old textile towns to become distinctly un-Southern in their prosperity and mood. Negroes attend, with little notice and less comment, desegregated drama or symphony at Charlotte's new Ovens Auditorium.

Why, then, the sudden outbreak of dimestore lunch counter sit-downs? And how have the whites reacted?

Two of the South's journalistic jesters, P. D. East of the *Petal Paper* in deepest Mississippi, and Harry Golden of *The Carolina Israelite*, have commented. Mr. East suggests Negro students have begun to read the Constitution and wish to test it. Mr. Golden says revolutions always erupt where there is hope of success.

Of the two, Mr. Golden's is the more enlightening. In the marches on lunch counters, the Negro is announcing (and for the first time on a large scale in moderate North Carolina) that he does not intend to confine his quest for equal rights to courts. The act of standing while others sit and are served, like that of sitting at the rear of a bus, offends the image the Negro wishes to have of himself. But the front bus seats, as Montgomery learned, are within reach of the courts. It is assumed here that dimestore lunch counter stools are not – and therein lies a vast difference.

To put it bluntly, the sit-down strikes challenge an old, and aging, alliance in the moderate South: an alliance between those who, for reasons of principle and conscience, would approve considerably more desegregation – and those whose "liberalism" on the race issue derives from an economic interest in order.

To the South's genuine liberals, the question posed is one of fair-play: Is the dime-department store economy to continue to take the cash and let the dignity and comfort of its Negro customers go? For the merchants, however – those who have up to now exerted a moderating influence, the first consideration is "business as usual"; as *The Charlotte Observer* put it, of "the tinkle of the cash register." They fear the loss of white patronage, though it has yet to be demonstrated whether there would be a loss, or how much.

Tar Heels were horrified as racial disorder at Little Rock broke down a program of industrialization in Arkansas and brought about a steep incline in outside investment. For industrialization and the luring of new venture capital is the panacea in these parts. North Carolina, which dispatched Gov. Luther H. Hodges and an entourage of businessmen and politicians as far as Western Europe several months ago in search of industry, is intoxicated with the possibilities of wealth unimagined in the South since the days of the indigo trade. And as V. O. Key, Jr., observed 10 years ago in his *Southern Politics:* "Industrialization has created a financial and business elite whose influence prevails in the state's political and economic life. . . ."

Rulers in Key's "progressive plutocracy" of North Carolina see in the potentially explosive lunch counter demonstrations something entirely different from what their thorough-going liberal allies see: The merchants and businessmen, watching the leather-jacketed white troublemakers gather around the dimestore entrances, fear that a shove, a brandished knife, could touch off disorder that would silence the cash register's tinkle.

And the liberals? They admit the legitimacy of the demonstrators' aim and endorse it. But they, too, fear the coming of the white hoodlums.

Where this disaffection between old allies will lead depends in large measure upon how far and how fast the Negro students press their demands. There have been arrests; it looks as if the demonstrations will continue, and if they do the business community will grow more intransigent. The newspapers here, while generally sympathetic to the demonstrators, have come down on the side of the merchants. As the Smith-Graham election showed, the one event that can shatter the alliance between the Chambers of Commerce and the Human Relations Councils is a mixing of racial insurgence with economic threat. The cash register won out in that election; the question now is whether it will win out again.

Edwin M. Yoder, Jr.

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A Test Ban Is Still Possible

by David R. Inglis

The US test-ban proposal submitted at Geneva on February 11 after weeks of interdepartmental deliberation in Washington, again raises the question whether an effective nuclear test ban still is possible. If a test ban is to be a means of increasing our security by avoiding an "infinite arms race" our aim must be to negotiate an agreement to which we can subsequently obtain the adherence of the other nations by the application of moral, political and economic pressures if necessary. The latest US proposal did not meet that requirement.

It proposed the resumption of testing of bombs that make earth shocks below what is known as "earthquake magnitude 4.75." Translated into kilotons of explosive power, this probably means about 20 kilotons, or even considerably more in sufficiently hard rock. This is quite large enough to give a country which does not now have a nuclear capability a substantial start as an atomic power, and with it an independent opportunity for nuclear blackmail. The explosion which marked France's entry into the "nuclear club" was said to be about 20 kilotons, the size of our early atomic bombs. For a prospective nuclear nation, the necessity to test underground would be a slight handicap, but not overruling.

Since our proposal was so limited and has been rejected by the Russians, it is important that we regard it as having been a bargaining move and consider how best to go on from there. While technical considerations are involved in the decision, let it be quite clear that science alone cannot solve the problem. Political initiative and judgment must make wise use of the perspective and tools provided by science. We must not await the development of a "perfect" control system before concluding an agreement. We must get on with developing control techniques, *but* we must also go as far as possible to reach agreements *now*.

How have matters changed since the summer of 1958? It was agreed then at Geneva that a worldwide network of some 180 manned seismographic stations (about 20 of them in the USSR), supplemented by some on-site inspections of suspicious events, would suffice to distinguish underground tests over 5 kilotons and have a good chance of detecting smaller ones. This was generally considered a reasonable degree of control. It was to be expected that as time went on there would be an improvement of the means of detection as well as new ideas for evading detection. But there seemed a reasonable chance that the former would more than keep pace in the long run with the latter.

Then, in the fall of 1958, came the measurements on some underground tests made hastily in Nevada – just before the voluntary US-USSR test moratorium went into effect. The Nevada data changed our estimate of how big an explosion it takes to make a certain distant seismic signal. The estimate went up from 5 kilotons to 20 kilotons. Now, this estimate depends on our choice of a method for comparing near and distant signals. The Russian scientists at the technical conference at Geneva last December somewhat obtusely insisted on a different method and got a smaller answer. There was wrangling over this point and over how the shape of the signals differs for tests and earthquakes. The spirit of the conference might have been better if there had been a new, constructive test-ban proposal to discuss, but none was offered. The Soviet delegates did, however, make important and useful concessions. In particular, they agreed to the use of 10 times as many seismographs at each detection station as had been contemplated earlier. This expansion alone would increase detection effectiveness enough to bring that 20 kiloton figure back down to almost the 5 kiloton agreed on as reliably detectable in 1958.

The other technical changes since 1958 concern the competition between new hopes for improving detection efficiency and new suspicions about possibilities of evading detection. Only after the summer of 1958 was it realized on theoretical grounds that a detonation carried out in a big enough spherical cavity far enough underground would be very effectively muffled, so effectively as to reduce its apparent power perhaps 300 fold. The catch is that, for appreciable-size bombs, the hole has to be enormously larger and deeper than any that has ever been constructed, something like a sphere 800 feet in diameter and half a mile underground for a 100 kiloton bomb (or a *still enormous* hole 350 feet in diameter for 10 kilotons). Engineers surmise that with unlimited resources this might be physically possible – engineering can do almost anything if we are willing to pay enough – but that it is fantastic to think of digging such a hole; and perhaps having to support the roof with a thick spherical steel liner installed piecemeal while excavating, at the same time gambling that no foreigner will see some trace or hear some rumor of the operation!

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There are doubtless variant possibilities, but all involve tremendous projects and considerable risk of detection, particularly if some limited means of observation are authorized in a control agreement. Natural caverns are rarely so big and are ill-shaped and never so deep, while the largest man-made, air-filled deep chambers are hardly a hundred feet across. The fury of even a modest atomic bomb is a formidable thing to hide.

On the test-detection side of the competition, there have been ideas for refinements that would permit identification of smaller explosions, but we have been distressingly slow to establish an agency to develop them. On the other hand, well-financed agencies already exist to develop nuclear weapons and methods of testing them. In March of 1959, the Berkner report made to the President's "Killian Committee" urged that we promptly push forward a program for perfecting our detection capability. It suggested, for example, placing the sensitive elements of seismographs deep underground to avoid surface disturbance. As another possibility, it suggested using unmanned, or robot, seismographs monitored by radio to supplement the network of manned stations. The report recommended a detection network with a much finer mesh, having 35 times as many robot stations as manned stations so as to increase detection efficiency enormously. The attractiveness of this recommendation is enhanced by the Soviet indication on February 3 at an informal conference of statesmen in London that they would consider it seriously. But no advantage was taken of this possibility in the US proposal of February 11.

"Come On, Lover, Let's Leap"

Refinements in Detection

The US plan has been advertised as banning *all tests that can be detected by present means*, thus making our own position seem the epitome of logic. Yet the US plan meticulously excludes consideration of any means of detection other than those already discussed at Geneva. The possibility of a finer mesh or of the robot seismographs referred to earlier seems to have been arbitrarily excluded from those discussions. Under these circumstances, it would be strange indeed if the Russians did not suspect we were preoccupied with making a political point, while planning to continue our Nevada tests.

It is true that for a long while the Russians confined the discussions to the 180-station network proposal. However, their willingness to modify their former position on the instrumentation and extent of the control system became apparent in December at Geneva, again on February 3 at London, and most recently on February 16 when they offered to permit a considerable but still unspecified quota of on-spot inspections. The manner in which the Soviet delegate put forward this latest concession, while formally rejecting the US proposal of February 11, shows that our proposal did edge the negotiations forward. The new Soviet flexibility now gives us a real opportunity to follow through, to require further improvements in the detection system and at the same time to agree to ban testing down to much smaller explosions. Once we are willing to consider banning tests down to quite small ones, to go further and ban *all* tests would have both political and technical advantages, despite the chance that some very small tests of a kiloton or so would remain undetected. The control organization would not then have to distinguish between permitted and forbidden tests and people everywhere would understand that tests were really banned.

One hears a great deal about the "risks" of agreeing to a ban that is not "foolproof." But what in human affairs is "foolproof"? The atomic age is inherently dangerous. The best we can do is to choose the least dangerous course. The traditional course is to keep our freedom to develop our own arms no matter what others may do, but this is so far from "foolproof" as to be a design for disaster. A war of annihilation is more and more probable sooner or later, by miscalculation or accident, if the number of nuclear nations is permitted to go on increasing. With no end of a spiralling arms race in sight but the ultimate catastrophe of accidental war, a great nuclear power will be more strongly tempted to take the desperate risk of a first strike, trying thereby to knock out quickly the enemy's capacity to retaliate.

Against this background we must judge the danger

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that, if we agree to no more tests, the USSR might decide to risk detection and carry out a series of underground tests large enough to have some military significance. We must then weigh the risk that what they might learn from the tests, *if* they should do this, would significantly influence the balance of power. In the light of what has been said about the possibility of detecting underground tests down to a very few kilotons, especially if there is a reasonably expanded detection network; in view of the difficulty and cost of hiding the construction of enormous deep underground holes and taking other such evasive measures (including those in outer space); and in view of the great number of tests already made by the US and the USSR, including some a *thousand times as powerful* as the underground tests we're worried about, this hazard of a controlled ban that is less than perfect seems very small indeed. A series of small tests might conceivably help the Soviets to catch up with us in the design of small atomic weapons for tactical and perhaps defensive use, but this would have so little influence on the strategic balance as to make it very unlikely that they would risk detection for the sake of it. The possibility that in the far future a very small test could verify a new principle on which a large weapon could be built without further testing seems remote, particularly in view of the military's reluctance to rely on untested weapons.

How Much Is Enough?

The likelihood of a ban being secretly violated appears even smaller when we remember that we are entering the age of "overkill," when the deterrent threat is so overwhelming that a little more doesn't make much difference. This situation should not be used as an excuse for "softness" or lethargy on our part, but as a spur to seeking multilateral arms reduction. The Administration has shown its faith in our "intelligence" information to the extent of basing our defense plans on our "intelligence" estimates of Soviet *intentions* to build missiles, rather than on present Soviet capability. But such "intelligence" information has been rigorously excluded from the discussion of test-ban controls. Can we depend on "intelligence" to inform us of detailed Soviet production plans, and yet fear that the Russians could construct a deep underground hole of vastly unprecedented size without our getting some word of it?

Our recent proposal set the limits on permitted tests so high that one or two on-site inspections per year in the USSR would suffice to check the few earthquakes of that magnitude, yet we demanded 20 such annual inspections. The limit could reasonably have been set at about 5 kilotons rather than 20 kilotons, *with no extension of the monitoring network.*

The incentives for making further small tests are so small that cheating would probably not occur, granted a reasonable but not quite watertight control system. But if such evasion should occur and were discovered, what then? Our response would depend on conditions at the time, but presumably in the worst case the test ban would be terminated, the developmental part of the arms race would be resumed in full force, and we'd be back where we started, having tried in vain. This possibility suggests that it might be prudent for us to continue *to be ready to resume testing*, even with a ban in effect.

It must not be imagined that a test ban will be cheap. What we are seeking is a lessening of the risk of annihilation, not a lessening of dollar expenditures. Testing costs will be eliminated, to be sure, but these economies may be more than offset by the international cost of the control system. Weapons manufacture will continue, as we go on depending for deterrence on present-model warheads. But by preventing the present situation from getting worse, a test ban would facilitate progress toward limiting weapons production itself. And only then can we hope for substantial economies.

There has apparently been a concerted effort, in this country, on the part of some of those responsible for nuclear weapons development, to belittle the attractiveness of a controlled test ban and to magnify the importance of our own tests, with no mention of the fact that Soviets have more to gain from a resumption of testing than we have. Nowhere is this effort more obvious than in the sense of urgency with which "project plowshare" is being promoted. This project is a collection of nonmilitary plans requiring atomic explosions, none of which really have any immediate urgency remotely comparable with the importance of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons capability. They can all wait until after we achieve a test ban, after which we can try to arrange for them to be carried out on an international basis. Who really cares much whether we melt oil tars right now, when any stock broker will tell us there is a surplus of oil, or whether we hurry to extend the neutron-time-of-flight measurements from our atomic laboratories to higher energies at our proving grounds?

The groundwork for agreement has been laid. After much delay the Russians have accepted a reasonable distribution of personnel by nationality in the control posts. They have accepted increased instrumentation and an as yet unspecified number of on-site inspections. We *do* need to obtain further concessions, particularly the removal of a veto over the control-system budget, and perhaps a finer mesh of control stations and limited fly-over inspection of seismically active regions to look for "big holes" if the ban is to be as airtight as possible. We are fortunate that the diffusion of nuclear weapons capability is still so limited, and that Russia seems interested in keeping it so. But the present opportunity to increase our security by an effective test-ban is unprecedented – and fleeting.

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Chessman's Challenge

The latest American *cause célèbre*, that of the man Chessman, in California, is acquiring an oddly satirical relation to that of Sir Walter Raleigh. Chessman has been in the death house for nearly 12 years. Raleigh lay under sentence of death for 15. Chessman's life was saved by the intervention of a foreign nation, Uruguay. Raleigh finally went to the scaffold by the intervention of Spain. Chessman has never been able to convince any court, or any pardoning power, of his innocence. Few people believed at the time, and almost nobody believes now, that Raleigh was guilty as charged.

But the reputation of American justice is suffering almost as much from the Chessman case as that of England did from the Raleigh case.

Perhaps the oddest circumstance in the Chessman case is that the question *cui bono*? does not arise. Ordinarily in such cases the sacrifice of the victim inures to the profit, or at least sates the blood-lust of some identifiable person or group. James I executed Raleigh to appease the King of Spain. Many people believe that Sacco and Vanzetti were offered up to placate the Massachusetts Red-baiters; and that Leo Frank fell to Georgia anti-Semitism; and that Tom Mooney almost died, and, indeed, did serve 20 years, to satisfy the enemies of organized labor.

But the crime of which Chessman was convicted was so revolting as to raise grave suspicion of the sanity of the perpetrator. One of its effects was to consign a young woman to the living death of a madhouse – a deed by comparison with which murder is almost benevolent. Nor was the criminal representative of any idea, or creed, or class. It was plain bestiality.

The successful efforts to prevent his execution therefore cannot be attributed to any organized fanaticism, unless hatred of capital punishment be accounted fanaticism. No person or cause stands to gain, regardless of the final disposition of the case. The movement in his behalf was an attack by certain determined persons on what they regard as a miscarriage of justice.

But to oppose what one believes to be a miscarriage of justice is wholly admirable. Thus we have the ironical situation that an effort to which it is impossible to attribute a sinister motive has nevertheless prejudiced American justice in the eyes of the world – prejudiced it to such an extent that foreign governments feel that they are justified in intervening in the name of humanity.

The trouble was the method. Time after time Chessman's appeals have been dismissed by the higher courts as being based on mere technicalities, without substantial merit. Nevertheless, for more than 11 years the man's life has been preserved solely by his ingenuity and that of his counsel in discovering loopholes in the law. Thus the alien observer may logically infer either that the man, for some unknown reason, is being persecuted with a ruthless ferocity that passes all civilized bounds, or that the American system of justice is impotent to protect itself against pettifogging. In neither case does our system of justice present itself in an admirable light.

The final touch was added by the bumbling fashion in which Washington handled the message from Uruguay. A nation uncertain of its ability to protect a visitor from insult or injury is a nation that ought not to be visited. But instead of saying so promptly and firmly, Washington undertook to pass the buck to Governor Edmund Brown of California, giving rise to the suspicion that someone was trying to make political capital out of the case.

Was there ever another nation with such a fatal proclivity for doing what is basically the right thing in a way so wrong as to make it look downright criminal? The atrocity of the crime of which he was convicted does not affect Chessman's right to a rigorously fair trial; but every court that has reviewed the case agrees that his trial was fair. Perhaps capital punishment ought to be abolished, but if so it ought to be abolished for everyone, not merely for those lucky enough to have counsel so ingenious that they can tie up the courts for a span of more than 11 years.

Insistence on a fair trial for every man, no matter how dreadful the crime of which he is accused is civilized. Opposition to capital punishment is also civilized. Yet on the basis of two admirable motives we have made such a mess of this case that it will stand as a reproach to us for many a year.

As a nation we seem incapable of paying sufficient attention to how things look. We blithely disregard old William of Wykeham's motto, "Manners makyth man," and the repudiation is costing us money, reputation and friends at a rate we can ill afford.

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What America Can Afford

A Review of National Needs in the 60's

by Helen Hill Miller

A new "great debate" is raging. . . . The debate has been inspired by a single idea: that the basic trouble with American society is that we devote too much of our resources to increasing an already affluent level of private consumption, and too little to public services of all kinds.

– Edwin L. Dale, Jr., *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1960

The doctrine which determines [the President's] budget, his program, and his preaching to the nation is, in the perspective of the world struggle, a most dangerous doctrine. The central issue of the world struggle is whether the Soviet system or a liberal system can deal best with the problems that beset mankind. In that struggle we shall surely lose if we tell the world that, though we have the richest economy in all history, our liberal system is such that we cannot afford a sure defense and adequate provision for the civil needs of our people.

– Walter Lippmann, Feb. 9, 1960

How the country's resources are to be used in this decade is, or ought to be, the major political issue of 1960, for on that decision US national well-being, if not US survival, turns. Democrats will shout that the Republicans are complacent, Republicans that the Democrats are reckless spenders of "other peoples' money." Each will say that the other is living for the day and taking no thought for the morrow. But the real debate over the national rate of growth, and over what part of the US output is to be channeled into public purposes, and what part is to be allocated in accord with semi-private decisions of corporations, associations and voluntary agencies and the private decisions of individuals, has barely started.

In view of the importance of this debate and the contradictory interpretations given the same economic facts by competing parties and candidates, the editors of *The New Republic* present some black and white figures showing how much income the US now has and what it is now buying (last year, $11 billion was spent on advertising). We note how much income the country will have in the coming years at various rates of growth, and some of the claims that will be made upon this wealth. And we cite statements and reports on national needs made prior to the 1960 campaigns by independent study groups representing a wide range of views and having unusual access to facts. The authorities to whom we refer do not blithely demand that more federal money be poured into public pipelines. Rather, they assess the relevance to the needs of the decade of both the size and the kind of the largest current federal programs.

Because this is a political year, we are not drawing on Congressional committee reports, or statements by political figures, however competent we believe some of them to be. A further reason for emphasizing independent citizen findings is because to an unusual degree the country is puzzled by what it hears from Administration leaders. The President and the Secretary of the Treasury have made clear the primacy they place on the maintenance of a balanced budget, but on other matters of importance, the testimony of public officials is often conflicting. The story often varies according to echelon: The President in his messages or at his news conferences, and successive Secretaries of Defense in testimony before Congress, have defended heatedly the adequacy of present levels of military spending; but the uniformed service chiefs, while acknowledging their willingness to "go along," have hinted broadly that they regard the proposed budget as inadequate in one way or

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another; and responsible persons who have recently retired or resigned are openly warning that various gaps are too wide and various margins of safety too narrow. The President tells the press he is undisturbed by the current primacy of the USSR in space exploration; within days, both his chief scientific adviser and the head of the USIA, from their respective viewpoints, see in that primacy cause for anxiety.

In trying to judge whether enough is being spent or what is spent is spent wisely, the citizen who is not on the "inside" of things stumbles over two obstacles: the intricacy of the subject in this era of fast growth and supersonic science, and the classified nature of much of the information. This is especially so when military security is discussed. But though the ordinary citizen is bewildered by this inharmonious chorus, he is nevertheless dubious of uncritically accepting the charges of the Democratic opposition, or of writing any blank check for the armed forces.

Likewise bewildering is that, as of this moment, the country as a whole has never had it so good. It is hard to realize that the year 1960 cannot be sliced off and viewed as an isolated cross-section of time. What is done or left undone this year will greatly influence if not determine what can be done in 1961, or 1965 or 1980 – or 1984. But to recognize that fact is by no means to know what to do about it, *now*.

Growth of the National Product

The argument about what the United States can afford must – if it is to make any sense – start with a recognition of the resources at its disposal. The gross national product (GNP), which is the sum total of goods and services produced each year, represents the country's over-all economic capacity. Only by keeping the size of this product in view can the capacity of the country to sustain public expenditures of various amounts be seen in perspective.

The following table shows the GNP over the last decade, and the portion of it that was spent to public account through local, state and federal government budgets. To eliminate the effect of inflation from the comparisons, these figures are expressed in constant dollars, at their 1959 purchasing power.

Year	GNP (in billions)	Government purchases of goods & services (in billions) Total	Federal Total	Federal Defense	Federal Other	State & Local
1949	$328.2	$57.1	$30.6	$18.4	$12.2	$26.5
1953	417.1	102.0	71.1	60.1	11.0	30.9
1958	448.6	94.9	53.3	45.0	8.3	41.6
1959	478.8	97.9	53.6	45.5	8.1	44.3

Money at the disposal of the government is increased in two ways; by raising tax rates, or by applying the same tax rates to increased amounts of income. The above figures show the relationship between the size of GNP and the country's ability to pay for public expenditures. In 1949, the money spent by all governments took almost 15 percent of the gross national product, while in 1959, government expenditures of more than double those of 1949 took only just over 20 percent. At current federal tax rates, every $10 billion of growth in the GNP brings in somewhere between $2 and $2.5 billion of additional federal revenue.

The National Planning Association in its "Long Range Projections for Economic Growth," the Committee for Economic Development in its "Trends in Public Expenditures in the Next Decades," and the Conference on Economic Progress in its "The Federal Budget and the General Welfare," have analyzed the possibilities in detail. So has the staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, over the years and in a 1960 study paper by its counsel, James W. Knowles.

Over the past 40 years (1919-59), with sharp ups and downs caused by depression, war and recovery, the GNP grew at an average of 2.9 percent annually. From 1950-57, the growth rate averaged 3.6 percent, doing better in the earlier, and worse in the later years of this span. The difference between the GNP produced by different growth rates is impressive. A 2.5 percent growth rate (which is slightly higher than the actual rate of the past few years) would raise 1959's GNP of $480 billion to $557 billion by 1965 and $713 billion by 1975. But a rate of 3.5 percent would up the 1965 figure to $590 billion and the 1975 figure to $832 billion. A rate of 4.5 percent would yield $625 billion in 1965, and $971 billion in 1957 – double 1959's GNP.

In other countries, a growth rate of better than 4 percent is by no means unusual. Between 1950-57, Western European nations in the OEEC averaged an over-all rate of 4.6 percent; the USSR's current rate is estimated by Western sources at around 6 percent – a widely accepted study by the National Planning Association sets the rate at 6.3; over the last six years Japan also has achieved a growth rate of better than 6 percent. Obviously, the smaller the base, the easier it is to obtain a high percentage rate of growth; but foreign gains in comparison with the US total are nonetheless rapid. If the USSR's economy continues to expand even at 6 percent a year – a figure considerably less than the announced Soviet intention – and if the US rate is raised to 4 percent, the Soviet GNP will be over half that of the US by 1965, whereas in 1951, Soviet GNP was only about one-third of America.

Growth in Population

On New Years Day, 1960, 179.3 million people were estimated to live in the US. Over the decade 1950-60 the

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population had increased by 28.2 million – or by about as many people as live in the less populous half of the 50 states. US population levels are expected to range from 191.5 to 199 million by 1965, and from 215.8 to 243.9 million by 1975. Twenty years from now there may well be as many as 272.6 million Americans.

So far, per capita disposable personal income has gone up more rapidly than the population, even when the figures are expressed in constant 1959 prices to eliminate the effect of inflation.

Year	*Total disposable personal income (in billions)*	*population (in millions)*	*Per capita disposable personal income*
1949	$231.3	$149.2	$1,551
1953	276	159.6	1,729
1958	319.7	174.1	1,836
1959	334.6	176.9	1,891

Clearly, a substantial increase in GNP will be required if Malthus is not to ride again.

In addition, there are several new and very practical reasons why plans must be made now for the anticipated larger population. One is a sudden short-term need for additional jobs. As waves of war and postwar babies finish school and set out to earn their living, some 26 million young people over the years of the 1960's will be looking for places in a labor force that now totals almost 71 million. The influx will not be steady; it will have two peaks. One will occur next year, when the number of 18-year-olds will jump by 300,000 to a total of 2.9 million. A 10-12 percent upshoot in young jobseekers in 1961 could glut the labor market. But the major strain on the absorptive power of the economy will come in 1965, when in a single 12-month period the number of youngsters finishing school will skyrocket by a cool million.

The urgency of preparing early enough to receive these newcomers is underscored by the fact that in recent years relatively fewer people have found openings in fields such as manufacturing (which increase the material wealth of the nation) and relatively more have gone into the service trades (which contribute convenience rather than wealth). A higher, and a rapidly growing capital investment is necessary to provide new opportunities in the sectors of the basic economy where electronics and automation are becoming standard equipment. The National Industrial Conference Board estimates that capital investment per production worker in manufacturing was $17,800 in the first half of 1959, as compared with only $10,423 in 1950. Yet these are the jobs that make an economy strong.

The importance of expanding the real wealth of the nation is made apparent also when one looks at the new shape of the age curve in the US – and it will be shaped

Where the Money Goes

"As I understand an economy, its ultimate purpose is to produce more consumer goods. This is the object of everything we are working at: to produce things for consumers." – *Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, Jan. 27, 1958.*

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In 1958, Americans spent about $293 billion on items of personal consumption. Here is where the money went:

Food and tobacco	$82,980,000,000
Clothing, accessories, jewelry	31,459,000,000
Personal care	4,255,000,000
Housing	38,001,000,000
Household operation	41,309,000,000
Medical care & death expenses	17,826,000,000
Personal business	16,550,000,000
Transportation	33,607,000,000
Recreation	16,973,000,000
Private education & research	3,428,000,000
Religious & welfare activities	3,939,000,000
Foreign travel & remittances	2,629,000,000

Individual items in the above included:

Alcoholic beverages	$ 9,210,000,000
Tobacco products	6,376,000,000
Toilet articles & preparations	2,351,000,000
Barbershops, beauty parlors and baths	1,904,000,000
New cars	11,525,000,000
Kitchen & other household appliances	4,405,000,000
Radio & TV receivers, records & musical instruments	3,098,000,000
Nondurable toys & sport supplies	2,195,000,000
Jewelry & watches	1,937,000,000

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"The uses to which economic resources are directed largely determine the measure of national power." – *CIA Director Allen W. Dulles, before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, Nov. 13, 1959.*

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the same way for some time to come. The bulges will be at the two ends, among the youngsters and the oldsters. Simultaneously, more Americans are being born and more Americans are living longer. Each has special needs: educational and recreational facilities for the young; shelter, medical care, and basic income for the old. At the same time, the demand for community facilities – roads, hospitals, utilities, communications – will grow among the mounting population of all ages.

Even greater, however, than these domestic incentives to economic growth are the incentives from overseas. The middle-income families in America, with their average of $5,050 a year, live in a fabulous glass house, wide open for world inspection. Most of those outside looking in have a per capita annual income of less than $100.

Moreover, the population explosion in this country has been paralleled, and in most cases exceeded, abroad. World population in 1955 was estimated at 2,691 billion; continuance of the recent average annual increase could double this figure within 42 years. Between 1950 and 1975, an 86 percent increase is expected in Latin America, one of around 60 percent in Asia and Oceania, 52 percent in Africa, 43 percent in North America, and 31 percent in Europe including the USSR.

The Conference Committee on Population Problems, in its study, "Population: An International Dilemma, prepared by Frederick Osborn, notes: "Already in some countries the population is doubling in each generation of 30 years . . . and this rate of increase can be expected in other wide areas. If continued, such growth would multiply the population eight times in less than a century and would bring a 64-fold increase in less than two centuries . . . The United States and Canada occupy a unique position, shared only by the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand, in that their present balance of population to natural resources is still favorable to a continuous increase in the well-being of their people. But if present rates of growth should continue for as long as another two generations, both the United States and the Soviet Union will be reduced to a position in which the balance of population to resources may seriously handicap the effort to improve the level of living. They would then lose what is perhaps their major advantage over the other large but more heavily populated areas of the world." To maintain even a minimum food standard for four to five billion more people would probably require doubling the world's present agricultural production. The position of a high-income island in a world where most human beings face the prospect of growing poorer is bound to be a precarious one.

The Committee for International Economic Growth, in its just-published study of "One Hundred Countries: One and One-Quarter Billion People" prepared by Paul Hoffman, urges an increase in the level of outside public and private capital investment in these countries from its current figure of just over $4 billion a year to $7 billion. Such an investment could be expected to induce expansion of their economies by one percent per person per year in the 1960's – and to raise US exports to these areas some $14 billion annually by 1970.

And amid these pressures, a complex of nations in the Sino-Soviet bloc is committed to spectacular improvements in their own and the underdeveloped economies, and equally committed to the elimination of the liberal West as a primary center of power.

It is with these prospects in mind that the citizens of this country must assign priorities in an over-all national agenda. It is in view of such facts that the people of the United States need to agree on how a growing national product shall be used.

National Defense

For the past several years, in an effort to balance the budget at levels of taxation and economic growth rates current since 1953, increases in federal spending have been almost wholly confined either to expenditures mandatory under such legislation as that establishing the farm program or veterans benefits, or increases made necessary by market conditions in respect to interest on the national debt. Since 59 cents of the federal budget dollar goes for national security, the imposition of a ceiling has borne hardest on expenditures for defense and foreign aid.

The supremacy which the President and his advisers have attached to the present budget ceiling and their satisfaction with the sufficiency of US defense have been challenged by competent critics. Thus, in July, 1958, the Committee for Economic Development issued an analysis of "The Problem of National Security: some economic and administrative aspects," in which it said: "In determining the size of our defense effort, we must distinguish sharply between the limitation imposed by the amount of our total product that we are *willing* to devote to this purpose, at the sacrifice of other desirable uses of output, and the limitation imposed by the consideration that too heavy a defense burden may weaken our economy, and hence our long-term ability to maintain our security. . . . Fear that a high defense burden will weaken the economy has been exaggerated and should not be decisive in determining the size of a defense budget representing 10 to 15 percent of the GNP, or even more. . . . *We can afford what we have to afford.*"

In a special study made for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research of The Johns Hopkins University, issued on December 6, 1959, "Developments in Military Technology and Their Impact on US Strategy and Foreign Policy," there is this sentence: "The military position of the US has, in the short span of 15 years, declined from one of great security to one of great insecurity."

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In his book, *The Uncertain Trumpet*, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff, writes that: "The strategic doctrine which I propose to replace massive retaliation is the strategy of flexible response. . . . The new strategy would recognize that it is just as necessary to deter or win quickly a limited war as to deter a general war. Otherwise, limited war may result in our piecemeal attrition or grow into the general war we all want to avoid. . . . To make this change in strategy will require a lot of doing. . . . It will need a new kind of defense budget, to see that the dollars follow the approved priorities."

General Taylor's formula is very similar to that in a study released by the Council on Foreign Relations of New York on November 25, 1959, urging a defense structure resting on deterrent power, mobile forces capable of selective use, research and development, and long-range military aid. The Council asked: "Even with greater understanding of foreign affairs, however, will the American people support the necessary policies at the cost of greater sacrifice to themselves? There can be no doubt, we are convinced, of the need for the US to devote more of its resources than in the past to purposes related to its objectives and responsibilities in the world."

The President in his 1960 Budget Message set federal expenditures at $77.03 billion for all purposes. Of this, $45.8 billion is for major national security, which includes funds for atomic energy development, stockpiling, and military assistance as well as $40.85 billion for the Department of Defense. The Defense Department funds are within $145 million of the previous year's; they work out at 8.5 percent of 1959's $480 billion gross national product. The entire federal budget amounts to just under 16 percent of the GNP.

Perhaps this is enough; but recent independent appraisals of defense and military aid programs do not support that conclusion. The Rockefeller Report, "International Security – the Military Aspect," published in January, 1958, said: "The over-all US strategic concept lags behind developments in technology and in the world political situation. In major respects defense organization is unrelated to critically important military missions. Systems of budgets, appropriations and financial management are out of gear with the radically accelerating flow of military developments. The US system of alliances must be adapted to constantly changing strategic requirements. The US is rapidly losing its lead in the race of military technology. . . . The power of these states, particularly of the USSR, has been growing both absolutely and relatively to the US until today it constitutes a grave threat. . . . There exists the great danger that the Soviet Union will seek to use its nuclear striking force as a shield behind which to expand by more limited means. . . .

"The aggressor need prepare only for the war he proposes to fight. But the side which is militarily on the defensive must gear its planning and procurement to the possibility of an attack at any moment. . . . The . . . deficiencies in our strategic posture can be removed only by substantially increased defense expenditures . . . the deficiencies . . . will require successive additions on the order of $3 billion each year for the next several fiscal years."

The report of the Gaither Committee, appointed by President Eisenhower in 1957 to survey national security problems, has never been declassified. But its co-chairman, Robert C. Sprague, testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery on February 24, 1960, said: "We seem to have accepted a policy limitation that we are not going to put more than about $40 billion a year into our military effort. In 1957, when the Soviet GNP was $20 billion less than it is now, their effort approximately equalled ours.

"There is no solid basis to argue that the Soviet economy will not continue to grow at its present rate. We cannot assume that they won't continue to plough at least 25 percent of their GNP into military effort as they have been doing for the past 8 to 9 years. And they will still have enough left to meet minimum domestic needs and wage economic warfare abroad.

"If, for the 10 years ending in 1967, Russia continues to increase her military position by 6.5 percent per year

"Ha Ha – We're Still Ahead of Them"

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– while ours remains fixed at $40 billion per year – then we will obviously fall far behind in relative military strength. . . . We are using less than 10 percent of our gross national product for all national security purposes, and the percentage is declining. Per capita disposable income – the amount we have left after paying taxes – is at an all-time high of nearly $1,900. It probably is $1,900 this quarter. It has risen about $325 (measured in 1958 prices) during the last decade. If we were to devote only one-tenth of this increase to national security purposes, it would permit an increase of more than $5 billion per year in our program for national security."

Similarly, the President's Committee to Study the US Military Assistance Program, headed by William S. Draper, Jr., after a nine months' review in 1959 emerged with the conclusion that, "Entirely aside from the threat of Communist aggression, the United States and other free nations face the challenge of the revolutionary insistence on progress by the hundreds of millions of people in the less-developed areas. . . . In our fascination with our own mistakes, and the constant use of foreign aid as a whipping boy, we may be gradually choking this vital feature of our national security to death."

The reduction in funds for the military assistance programs in the present fiscal year, this group believed, "involves a serious security danger for the United States and for the free world," and implies "major deterioration of military strength in forward areas, and a clearly apparent withdrawal of effective support from many of our allies." To reverse the trend and maintain a posture "strong enough to support all our activities for world peace . . . the annual cost of the military portion, below which we should not go, is about $2 billion." (The current rate of spending is $1.8 billion, but the amount requested in the President's new budget is $2 billion.)

On economic foreign aid, the Draper Committee said: "We cannot assure equal opportunity for all peoples, but we can, along with other prosperous nations, help find a way for all peoples to see opportunities ahead. For us not to do so would be contrary to our national tradition." Among a series of recommended revisions of the economic aid program (including more multilateral contributions) this committee proposed increasing the rate of developmental lending, "starting in fiscal year 1961 at a rate of at least $1 billion a year." (The President's budget proposes an allocation for the Development Loan Fund of $700 million.)

Expenditures for Education

Probably no domestic item on the national agenda has had more public consideration than means of improving the quality and the quantity of education in primary, secondary and higher schools. A large population is an asset if it is skilled and civilized. In the year 1958-59, expenditures for public schools totalled $14.5 billion, or 3 percent of the gross national product. A doubling of the costs of public elementary and secondary school education in the 1960's has been foreseen by a White House Conference, a Rockefeller Report, a study under the chairmanship of MIT's James R. Killian, Jr. Adoption of the recommendations of the Conant Report on "The American High School Today" would more than double costs. Supporting figures are easy to come by: The Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report has issued a special "Analysis of the Rising Costs of Public Education"; the McGraw-Hill Book Company has released its findings on "Financing Higher Education, 1960-70" and the Committee for Economic Development, its study on "Paying for Better Public Schools." Among organizations close to the school system, the National Education Association, the Educational Policies Commission, the US Office of Education have all prepared either estimates or proposals.

At the moment, the expansion of educational facilities is too slow even to wipe out the current backlog of deficits. The Office of Education estimates that recent building only reduced the net classroom shortage from 142,300 in the fall of 1957 to 140,500 in the fall of 1958. At last December's session of the American Statistical Association, a staff member of the Office of Education indicated that over the 10-year period beginning in the autumn of 1959, new enrollments and obsolescence will require 610,000 new classrooms, at an average capital outlay for site, construction, equipment, etc., of $40,000 each, or $24.4 billion in all. If the national education bill is going to double, how much of the additional $15.5 billion that must be found by the end of the decade will be obtainable by allocating to education the same percentage of a larger GNP, and how much must be obtained from monies currently used in the form of consumer expenditures?

Controversy over what proportion of school funds should be provided by each of the levels of government complicates the question. At present, this is how schools are supported: 56 percent from local funds, 40 percent from state, and 4 percent from the federal government. But real property, the usual base for local taxation, now forms a much smaller proportion of national wealth than used to be the case; over recent years, the burden of school budgets has shifted increasingly from local to state governments. Arguments are similarly heard for assumption of a greater share of school costs by the federal government, arguments based in considerable part on the wide range of income from state to state, with the states that have the largest number of school-age children the ones that have fewer resources to invest in schooling.

Proposals for further federal support vary widely, though practically all of them agree on the importance of maintaining the local control that has been a traditional feature of US education. The CED says: "The

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national interest in good schools everywhere and the national interest in a decentralized school system are not irreconcilable. The combination of these two interests calls for the assumption of an important but limited responsibility by the federal government. This is a residual responsibility. It is to provide support to the extent necessary in situations where the decentralized system cannot provide good schools. . . . *The clear and present need is for federal financial assistance to the states that have extremely low personal incomes relative to the number of school children.*"

The specific recommendation of this group is that states whose current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance falls below 80 percent of the national average – there were 11 such states in 1957-58, with more than a fifth of the nation's children in their schools – should receive federal grants based on a formula that takes into account the personal income per student of the state and the national ratio of school expenditures to personal income.

Expenditures for the Aged

Last year there were 15⅓ million Americans 65 years of age or older. Three-fifths of them had less than $1,000 a year to live on. About 7 in 10 citizens over 65 are eligible for old-age benefits as retired workers or their dependents under the social security program. The retired workers benefits range from $33 to $119 a month, averaging around $70. About two million other aged persons are not eligible for benefits and must rely on relief; their receipts average $64.10.

Yet these citizens, whose income dives when they cease to be employed, are subject to a particularly costly set of unavoidable expenses. A recent national health survey showed that the annual number of days of restricted activity was 47.3 for those 65 and over, as against 17.43 for those under 65. Other studies show that in the 65-and-over group, some 11 persons per hundred are hospitalized during any given year, with their hospital stay averaging from two to three weeks. Yet of all the items in the consumers price index (which went up 20 percent in the years 1948-58), the cost of medical care rose fastest – it soared 43 percent. So the need of the aged for more income, particularly to cover medical care, is acute.

State committees are now holding hearings preparatory to the White House Conference on the Aging scheduled for 1961. At the same time, insurance groups are considering incentives to persuade more individuals to save during their earning years – such savings would provide investment funds and so contribute to enlarging the economy at the same time that they would narrow the drop in income on retirement. The availability of variable payment annuities to hedge against inflation is a new development in this connection. The Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and the Aging of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has likewise been taking testimony in all regions of the country, in sessions that permitted a number of citizens and citizens' groups to register proposals, many of them for housing and medical care.

The building of more facilities was strongly urged. For many elderly invalids, nursing home care would be quite as adequate as a bed in an expensively equipped general hospital. The case has also been put for inexpensive living quarters constructed with a view to the disabilities of the elderly, whether interspersed with other housing or concentrated in retirement villages, and housing combined with custodial care. Federal financing of private construction under the FHA formula; public housing; broadening of the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act to include the building of facilities designed for the aged have all been advocated.

Comparably extensive testimony has been heard on the financing of medical care: through including medical benefits in the social security act as currently proposed in the Forand bill; through wider coverage under private plans organized either by medical associations, insurance companies, or special bodies; through institutional provisions for group insurance by corporations, unions, associations, with post-retirement features.

The old-age assistance program, being a cooperative

"Boy, Talk About the High Cost of Tranquilizers"

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program in which initiative is taken by the state governments with the federal government matching their funds under an agreed formula, varies markedly from state to state, with each state having its own standards of minimum living costs. The medium estimate is that a man living alone in rented quarters needs $89.50 a month. But many state standards are deplorably low, and some even of the low ones are not met because of lack of legislative appropriations. Of the $3.251 billion annually spent on public assistance of all sorts in this country, $1.794 billion goes to the aged.

The Advisory Council on Public Assistance, a citizens group established under the 1958 amendment to the Social Security Act to advise the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, stressed in a January, 1960, report that at the end of 1958 a 5.7 percent increase in assistance payments would have been necessary just to meet existing cost standards:

Recipients' monthly requirement	$215,525,000
Recipients' own income	50,174,000
Deficiency	$165,351,000
Assistance payments	156,458,000
Shortage	$ 8,893,000

This same group declared: "The estimates suggest that the amount of unmet need in the old-age assistance and aid to dependent children programs ranges from about half a billion dollars to about one billion dollars."

Expenditures for Community Facilities

A year ago, the final report of the Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems contained a paragraph which, with the simple transposition of place names, could serve as a description of most of the 168 standard metropolitan areas of the country, areas which in April, 1959, contained approximately 57.5 percent of the American people: "Its population is pressing against the limits of such natural resources as water supply. Its growth outstrips the capacity of existing sewage disposal plants. Where growth is most rapid, as at the suburban fringe, the shortage of government facilities such as schools, highways and parks is especially acute. With growing population has come territorial expansion into the metropolitan counties . . . and with the metropolitan 'explosion' the decentralization of government employment centers, retail trade and much other private business. The metropolitan expansion, coupled with fundamental changes in travel habits and transportation technology, has disorganized the older systems of mass transportation. . . . In the central city forces of social change have been accelerated by unprecedented migrations of population, the disorganization of residential neighborhoods, shifting land use, and the invasion of vehicles and parking facilities. The congestion and decay of the central city, the shortages and fiscal plight of the peripheral suburbs, the metropolitan transportation dilemma, and the dissipation of our natural resources are all parts of the same interrelated process of urban growth."

Some idea of the force of the pressures on US cities is suggested by figures (and they already belong to the past) on the annual capital outlay of the five ranking metropolitan areas in 1950 and 1958.

	1950	1958
New York	$435,600,000	$532,400,000
Chicago	$ 49,100,000	$170,400,000
Los Angeles	$104,800,000	$128,500,000
Philadelphia	$ 49,400,000	$ 65,100,000
Detroit	$ 43,100,000	$ 53,000,000

Curbside estimates of the cost of carrying out all the needed metropolitan improvements across the country, over the coming 40 year period, range from $60 to $120 billion. The looseness of this estimate is in great part due to the new patterns' not having as yet jelled enough to make their requirements certain. For instance, shall their redesigned transportation systems be based on rubber-borne transport, such as Los Angeles now has, or will a good many cities retain downtown centers so vigorous and so concentrated that mass transit by rail or subway will be needed? In Washington, D. C., the cost of workable mass transportation, including rail facilities, is estimated at $500 million for the first step – and at about twice that figure for complete modernization. Yet, if government policy should continue to disperse large centers of public employment over a 15 to 20 mile radius, the density of the requirements for mass transport might be reduced enough for motor expressways with limited lanes to do the job adequately.

In most states, planning groups are likewise working on the structure and cost of facilities that have to be mapped as requisite for larger-than-metropolitan areas. The federal government too is involved, usually on a matching-grant basis, in the solution of problems having interstate or national implications. No over-all estimates exist with regard to anticipated costs, but budgets for some individual major expenditures are available. For instance, the 41,000 mile national system of interstate and defense highways, of which 90 percent of the cost is borne by the federal government, and on which work began in 1956 and will continue through 1972, was estimated to require an expenditure of some $40 billion for completion. On 555,000 miles of secondary roads, and on 219,000 further miles of primary roads, federal funds are available to the states on a 50-50 matching basis. Expenditures for such projects as prevention of stream pollution, development of river navigation, dams,

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public power, recreation areas, many of which are also on a federal-state or federal-local basis, vary greatly from year to year.

The private citizens group, Resources for the Future, is currently making estimates of the country's position over the years to the end of this century, ranging from the supply of water to the supply of outdoor recreational areas. Estimates made by this group in its forthcoming *Energy in the American Economy, 1850-1975*, shows the following charges in energy requirements over 20 years. Advance planning is clearly mandatory if such quantities are to be available:

Energy consumption, by source, 1955 and estimated 1975

	1955	1975	Percentage Change, 1955-75
Bituminous coal (million tons)	431	754	+74.9
Anthracite (million tons)	20	14	−30.0
Oil and NGL (million barrels)	3,034	5,923	+95.2
Natural gas (billion cubic feet)	9,614	19,881	+106.8
Hydropower (billion kilowatt-hours)	120	265	+120.8
Consumed as electricity (billion kilowatt-hours)	633	1,966	+210.6

Allocation of the GNP

At current levels of taxation, the best rise in the Gross National Product that the country is likely to get will not bring in enough funds to do what must be done. Recent testimony before Congressional committees by informed citizens on the inadequacy of the present arms program has accepted and indeed assumed the necessity of more taxes.

The growth rate of the economy is very relevant not only to the amount of further taxation that will be necessary, but to the amount of economic control that will be required. In an economy that is growing too slowly, strict government allocation measures would be required to obtain for public purposes an amount of the GNP adequate to carry necessary programs; in an economy that is being pushed at forced draft, as in wartime, controls are necessary both to allocate and to put a lid on inflationary pressures. In the current view of many economists, a growth rate of between 4 and 5 percent would give us the additional resources which would ease the tax burden, and at the same time not generate pressures requiring the controls. But at a 4-to-5 percent rate, some transfer of resources from personal consumption through individual spending to resources for public spending – more taxes, that is —will be necessary if the quality of American life which most Americans want is going to be available to them and their children. It is a simple but central point. Until the general public gets the point, few politicians will have the courage to say: This is the price of progress and security – and it is the people who must pay the bill. Are the people incapable of responding favorably to such candor? No one can know until the appeal is made. But it cannot be assumed in advance that the electorate will reject the argument that its current level of spending on immediate, short-term personal satisfactions must be curtailed in the interest of the kind of national agenda whose main items have been reviewed above.

The editors of *The New Republic* believe that Americans both recognize, and have a contempt for, a boondoggle when they see one, whether it be publicly or privately financed. That contempt has nowhere been better expressed than in the remarks of Robert A. Lovett, former Secretary of Defense, before Senator Jackson's Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery, February 23: "I had found frills in the military departments objectionable in my time. I had in some fashion, perhaps unfairly, attributed those very largely to government. But I do not think that they are. . . .

"As I returned to civilian life . . . I found the most extraordinary examples of what seems to me to be a deterioration in either our national sense of proportion or our national sense of humor. . . . If anything else were needed in my case, I received for Christmas a small tool about the size in its grip of an electric battery used in a flashlight, and then it had a rod that stuck out and a loop on the end of it and a button. This was a drink stirrer, a portable drink stirrer. . . . That was one of three that I have added to my collection. I have two others. One is a foam rubber, electrically driven finger for use in massaging the gums. . . . The third . . . is a motor driven, portable electric dry cell manicure burr with six attachments. . . . If those things represent the amount of time and effort which I think any miniature production does, then I feel reasonably sure that there is excess engineering talent, time and productive capacity to do those things which have a greater importance to us nationally."

THE NATION'S NEEDS

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The Sholom Aleichem Centenary

by Irving Howe

Fifty or sixty years ago the young Jewish intelligentsia, its head buzzing with socialist, Zionist or Yiddishist ideas, tended to look down upon Sholom Aleichem. He seemed to them old-fashioned, lacking in complexity, rebelliousness, intellectuality – it is even said he showed no appreciation of existentialism. Sh. Niger, the Yiddish critic, tried to explain this familiar condescension by saying that laughter, the characteristic effect of Sholom Aleichem's stories, is for children and old people, not for the young. Perhaps so; the young are notoriously solemn. My own, perhaps simpler explanation is that the Jewish intellectuals of sixty years ago, faced with Sholom Aleichem's moral completeness and his imperviousness to the fashions of ideology, simply did not know what to do with him. Talking about him was like saying something about one's father who, simply because he looks at one sardonically and is one's father, makes one feel like a child.

The embarrassment Jewish intellectuals then felt has been replaced by something much worse: distance and indifference. Soon we shall be needing a historical expedition, armed with exegesis and footnotes, to salvage his work. Even today we cannot be certain that our affection for him rests upon a strict regard for the words he puts on the page, rather than a parochial nostalgia.

It has been customary to say that Sholom Aleichem speaks for a whole people, but saying this, we should also remember that his people have not spoken very well for him. The conventional estimate – that Sholom Aleichem was a folksy humorist, a sort of jolly gleeman of the *shtetl* – is radically false. He needs to be rescued from his reputation, from the quavering sentimentality which keeps him at a safe distance.

Sholom Aleichem speaks for the culture of the east European Jews because he embodies – not represents – its essential values in the very accents and rhythm of his speech, in the inflections of his voice and the gestures of his hands, in the pauses and suggestions between the words even more than the words themselves. To say that a writer represents a culture is to imply that a certain distance exists between the two. But that is not at all the relationship between Sholom Aleichem and the culture of the east European Jews: it is something much more intimate and elusive, something for which, having so little experience of it, we can barely find a name. In Sholom Aleichem everything that is deepest in the ethos of the east European Jews is brought to fulfillment and climax. He is, I think, the only modern writer who may truly be said to be a culture-hero, a writer whose work releases those assumptions of his people, those tacit gestures of bias, which undercut opinion and go deeper into communal life than values.

Sholom Aleichem came at a major turning point in the history of the East European Jews: between the unquestioned dominance of religious belief and the appearance of modern ideologies, between the past of traditional Judaism and the future of Jewish politics, between a totally integrated culture and a culture that by a leap of history would soon plunge into the midst of the modern uncertainty, division and chaos. Yet it was the mark of Sholom Aleichem's greatness that, coming as he did at this point of transition, he betrayed no moral imbalance or uncertainty of tone. He remained unmoved by the fanaticisms of his time, those that were Jewish and those that were not; he lost himself neither to the delusions of the past nor the delusions of the future. His work is the fulfillment – pure, relaxed, humane – of that moment in the history of the Jews in which a people lives securely with itself, untroubled by any dualism, hardly aware of a distinction, between the sacred and secular. His work abounds in troubles, but only rarely does it betray anxiety.

In reading Sholom Aleichem one seldom thinks to wonder about his opinions. He stands, as I have said, between the age of faith and the age of ideology, but I doubt that there has ever been a reader naïve enough to ask whether Sholom Aleichem *really* believed in God. For him it was not a living question, no more than it was for the people who read him. To say that he believed in God may be true, but it is also irrelevant. To say that he did *not* believe in God is probably false, but equally irrelevant.

What Sholom Aleichem believed in was the Jews who lived with him and about him, most of them Jews still believing in God. Or perhaps he believed in those Jews who lived so completely in the orbit of their fathers – fathers who had surely believed in God – that there was no need to ask such questions.

In Sholom Aleichem's stories God is there, not because He is God, not because there is any recognition – or denial – of His heavenly status, but simply because He figures as an actor in the life of the Jews. God becomes absorbed into the vital existence of the people, or to put it more drastically: God is there because Tevye the Dairyman, Sholom Aleichem's famous character, is there.

But Tevye, does *he* believe in God? Another hopeless question. Tevye believes in something more important than believing in God; he believes in talking to God. And Tevye talks to God as to an old friend whom one need not flatter or assuage: Tevye, as we say in American slang, gives Him an earful.

Tevye, we may assume, makes God extremely uncomfortable – though also a little proud at the thought that, amid the countless failures of His world, He should at least have created a Tevye who can make him so sublimely uncomfortable. And how does Tevye do this? By telling God the complete truth. It is not a pretty truth, and if God would care to dispute anything Tevye has told him, Tevye is entirely prepared to discuss it with Him further. But whatever

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other mistakes He may have made, God is too clever to get into an argument with Tevye. God knows that Tevye does not fear Him: a Jew is afraid of people, not of God. So perhaps you can see how absurd it is to ask whether Sholom Aleichem *really* believed in God – Sholom Aleichem who in Tevye created a character to serve as the conscience of God.

Sholom Aleichem believed in Jews as they embodied the virtues of powerlessness and the healing resources of poverty, as they stood firm against the outrage of gentile history, indeed, against the very idea of history itself. Whoever is unable to conceive of such an outlook as at least an extreme possibility, whoever cannot imagine the power of a messianism turned away from the apocalyptic future and inward toward a living people – he cannot understand Sholom Aleichem or the moment in Jewish experience from which he stems.

It is here that the alien reader may go astray. He may fail to see that for someone like Tevye everything pertaining to Jewishness can be a curse and an affliction, a wretched job, a source of mockery and despair, but that being a Jew is nevertheless something to be treasured. Treasured, because in the world of Tevye there was a true matrix of human sociabilty.

The stories Sholom Aleichem told his readers were often stories they already knew, but then, as the Hasidic saying goes, they cared not for the words but the melody. What Sholom Aleichem did was to give back to them the very essence of their life and hope.

When Tevye talked to his horse, it was the same as if he were talking to his wife. When he talked to his wife, it was the same as if he were talking to God. And when he talked to God, it was the same as if he were talking to his horse. That, for Tevye, was what it meant to be a Jew.

Kierkegaard would never have understood it.

The last thing I wish to suggest here is an image of the sweetly pious or sentimental. Sholom Aleichem did not hesitate to thrust his barbs at his readers, and they were generous at reciprocating. Having love, they had no need for politeness.

But the love of which I speak is something sharply different from that mindless ooze, that collapse of will, which the word suggests to Americans. It could be argumentative, fierce, bitter, violent; it could be ill-tempered and even vulgar; only one thing it could not be: lukewarm.

The Jews never fooled Sholom Aleichem. Even as he was the defender of the Jews and their culture, there was always a sly wrinkle near his eyes which as soon as Jews saw it, they said to themselves: him you cannot deceive. That is why, when you go through his stories, you find so little idealization, so little of that cozy self-indulgence and special pleading which is the curse of Jewish life. Between Sholom Aleichem and his readers there is a bond of that wary respect which grows up among clever men who recognize each other's cleverness, enjoy it and are content.

Communist China's Impact on Asia

by Duncan Wilson

Communist China and Asia: Challenge to American Policy
by A. Doak Barnett
(Harper; $6.95)

Mr. Barnett has written an encyclopaedic and very valuable study of Communist China's impact on Asia (East and South-East Asia particularly), dealing mainly with the political and economic aspects. The author's credentials are formidable; he studied in mainland China from 1947-49, wrote current reports on Communist China for the American Universities Field Staff from various Asian vantage points in 1952-1956, and has also written a more detailed study for the National Planning Association, 1959, on "Communist Economic Strategy: the Rise of Mainland China." He has been assisted by a Study Group organized by the Council on Foreign Relations, and including many personalities distinguished in the field of Chinese studies. Mr. Barnett's study ought to be good, and it is.

The chapters cover successively the development of Communist China, the evolution of Mao's foreign policy and military strength, Chinese use of trade, aid and political subversion, the general question of the Overseas Chinese, China's relations with Japan, Korea and South-East Asia, the Sino-Soviet alliance and the problem of Taiwan and US recognition. Each chapter includes a consideration of how US policy could most usefully affect the issue under discussion, and there are finally suggestions for a reconsideration of US official strategy and tactics in Asia towards Communist China. These boil down to a "Two China" policy (it would be more accurately defined as a "One China, One Formosa policy"); the author believes not that this would lead to any quick and easy solution, but that the alteration of posture involved would make it easier to find "broader ground for common action and cooperation," on Asian questions as a whole, with "those major non-Communist countries on whom the future of Asia depends." Mr. Barnett argues his case with a notable sobriety and lack of dogmatism.

Mr. Barnett's study presents a coherent and connected argument, yet it is not particularly easy to read continuously. This is no fault of his style, which is lucid. It results partly from the subject-matter and the number of factual details which the author has had to cram into any chapter. It also stems, I think, from his choice of the "theme and area" rather than the chronological approach. Thus the switch of Chinese foreign policy from the encouragement of subversion to the "Bandung" policy of cooperation with existing Asian Governments inevitably appears frequently in different contexts. More important, certain "areas" are treated in rather artificial isolation; for example

Notes on Contributors

Mr. Howe's *article is part of a larger work now being written about the Yiddish writer, born late in 1859, whose centenary will be observed into 1960.* Duncan Wilson *headed the British Diplomatic Mission to Peking from 1957 until 1959. The opinions expressed in his piece are his own and do not, of course, reflect official opinion of the British government.*

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political coordination between Peking and Moscow is a factor which, by its presence or absence, affects all Chinese dealings in South-East Asia. I would not suggest that Mr. Barnett has forgotten this; but the shape of his book makes it hard at times for the reader to remember it. His more schematic method works admirably for some of his themes; the chapters on the Overseas Chinese and the Taiwan problem, for example, stand up very well by themselves, and it is useful for comparative purposes to have the figures and facts of trade and aid with, to and from China assembled in a single chapter. But the chronological method would have given the reader more of a story, and more of a sense of those large undifferentiated slices of reality with which the Chinese Communist Government as well as their opponents had and have to deal.

There are more substantial criticisms to be made of Mr. Barnett's book. What one finds in the Chinese political scene depends of course very largely on what one looks for amid the mass of primary material available (those who complain of lack of information on Communist China should be made to sort and digest some of it). The aspects which have most recently interested me are the independent element in Chinese policy and the general primacy of internal over external considerations. On both these points, I differ from Mr. Barnett. In his chapter on Sino-Soviet relations, for example, he seems to me to underrate the importance of internal considerations in determining Peking's successive reactions from October 1956 through May 1958 to the problems of "polycentrism" and "revisionism" within the "Socialist camp" as a whole. No doubt Mao's advice to Khrushchev to deal moderately with Gomulka was motivated in the first place by the desire to avoid an intra-bloc expulsion, partly by the desire to preserve the right to national independence within the bloc, and partly by delight in the role of arbiter. It is however frequently forgotten that by October 1956 the Chinese Communist Party had already (for over six months) adopted the policy of "Flowers blooming and Schools contending," in order to mobilize China's full intellectual resources behind the effort of "Socialist construction"; in trying to execute this policy the leaders were up against "leftist" opposition in their own ranks, which would perhaps have been encouraged too far if Khrushchev had decided in favor of a tough policy in Poland.

Similarly, just before their attacks on Yugoslavia, the Chinese leaders had been engaged on a bitter "rectification campaign" against "conservatives" within their own Party, probably as a necessary prelude to putting the "Great Leap Forward" campaign into effect. It seems likely that the virulent attack on the Yugoslav revisionists was staged partly in order to keep the Chinese "Conservatives" in their places.

This has its bearing on Mr. Barnett's concept of Sino-Soviet relations. No doubt the Russians were not surprised by the fact of Chinese anti-Yugoslav propaganda, nor by the general Chinese line thereafter on the questions of Lebanon, Jordan and the Offshore Islands. I doubt however whether there was much Sino-Soviet co-ordination behind the tone of Chinese propaganda. I think that Mr. Barnett underestimates the extent to which the Russians seem (mainly by strategic silences) to have disapproved of Chinese general policies in the late summer and fall of 1958. I doubt if it was only in connection with Tibet and the Indian frontier that Khrushchev made his extremely tart anniversary remarks on adventurists, with insufficient faith in Socialist victory, (at Peking on Sept. 30, 1959). In fact, while there may have been agreement between Moscow and Peking from November 1957 onwards in favor of a tough foreign policy, as Mr. Barnett thinks, this does not preclude the possibility that Peking behaved tougher than suited Moscow; nor the possibility (to judge by what was said and not said in the Russian and Chinese press) that Peking was thereafter called to order. While Peking's influence in the bloc may have grown over the last few years, as Mr. Barnett says, it has probably not grown since the end of 1958.

I am the more inclined to view the Sino-Soviet relations in these terms because I do not accept Mr. Barnett's picture, or implication, of a highly unified Chinese leadership and Communist Party. The façade of unity at the top is certainly well preserved; those who attach so much importance as do the Chinese Communist leaders to persuading others must show they are able to persuade themselves. But many of the agreed slogans are notably flexible. They can cover different interpretations as well as changes of line. "Politics must be in command" (*i.e.* the Party must control the technicians); but "politics" may order boldness or caution. "More, better, faster and more economically"; certainly, but one of the four limbs may be emphasized more than the others at any given time. And what can a poor cadre do but wait for further orders, when he is told to preserve "skyrocketing enthusiasm" and to keep his eye firmly on "objective realities"? The "Great Leap Forward" probably achieved much positive success. It did however cause a great deal of muddle and uncertainty. I doubt whether the Chinese Government is as sure of its aims as it was before last summer, or commands in the Communist Party as reliable an instrument as before. There is ample evidence in the Chinese press of a strong "conservative" trend (*i.e.* opposition to extreme radical policies) within the Chinese Communist Party

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from at least July 1955 onwards, and evidence of a crisis of confidence within the Party last summer.

Mr. Barnett is not primarily concerned with such manifestations on the Chinese front; but in his comparatively brief chapter on China as the totalitarian political power he paints what seems to me an over-glowing picture of the efficiency of the political machine. The achievements to its credit are formidable, but the strain of the last years has been formidable too. Mr. Barnett admits that pressures from regions could force the regime to modify its program. I think it likely that such pressures are already coming from within the Party itself; and that less "adventurist" policies on the domestic front as in foreign affairs may commend themselves not only to "conservatives" within the Party but also to China's Russian allies.

These are themes which need to be pursued in much greater detail, and with the scholarly sobriety of which Mr. Barnett is master. My ideas of Chinese intra-Party differences and of Sino-Soviet relations differ from those of Mr. Barnett; but if I were proved right beyond all contradiction, this would little affect his main argument or the substantial value of his excellent book.

THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

Come Nixon or High Water

Give ear, O critics, and learn that we have at last the impeccable book

> ". . . the true embodiment
> Of everything that is excellent;
> It has no kind of fault or flaw

Because, pardie,* it embodies the law,"

the law being that you shall vote Republican in November, come Nixon or high water. Even before the beginning, on the front cover, it prints this motto, quoted from Dwight D. Eisenhower: "The future will belong, not to the faint-hearted, but to those who believe in it and prepare for it." Is not that irreproachable? And after the end, on the back cover, is this from Richard M. Nixon: "This Report is the most useful statement of goals and principles ever issued by a political party in the United States." That should settle it; but it may be added that this reader, perfectly willing to carp, found nothing in between except what ought to be true.

Decisions for a Better America,
by the Republican Committee
on Program and Progress
(Doubleday; $.95)

In short, the professed aims of the Republican Party are right, right on everything, infallibly right. No doubt the Democratic Party will presently come up with a manifesto as right as this one; but it is a logical impossibility for it to be any righter. Evidence that the party believes a single word of its own bunk is, of course, another thing; but this document is not concerned with evidence, only with assertion.

And some of its assertions are fascinating – as, for instance: "The most important goal of any program of tax reform must be to increase individual incentives by some reduction of personal income tax rates in all brackets." The most powerful individual incentive to great endeavor that Johnson has encountered is the necessity of having enough to live on after the government has taken its cut; but it seems that if the tax collector did not have to be appeased, I would work even harder. No doubt, it ought to be true – ought to be.

"All Americans want peace." Uh-huh. "Peace can best be assured when the United States has a dynamic foreign policy, adequate military strength, and a sound economy." So that is why we have cold war – right again. So it goes. This production is simply beyond criticism, as far above it as Hansel and Gretel, Cinderella, or any other first-rate fairy tale.

Gerald W. Johnson

*Archaism introduced because no decorous family journal would print the really appropriate expletive.

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MOVIES

The Fact of Mortality

Iván Ilych's life had been most simple and most ordinary and therefore most terrible.
– From "The Death of Iván Ilych," by Leo Tolstoy

Tolstoy's entire novella might well be reprinted here for, in a sense, it is the best possible comment on the Japanese film under discussion. The picture is *Ikiru* (in English *To Live*), and the themes of the two works are the same: the realization of the approach of death; the bewilderment and anger at the course of one's past life; the shame of fear; the knowledge that the world has already discarded you, that you merely make others uncomfortable; the inescapable holiness of your last days because you are already in touch with great secrets or the absence of them; and the revelation that only dying is death, that once a man dies, death is finished and all that remains is the man's life – as it was – now unalterable and complete.

Ikiru (To Live)
(Brandon Films)

The picture begins, stunningly simply, with an X-ray; a narrator tells us that this is the stomach of the hero who will die in some months of gastric cancer. Then we see the man Watanabe sitting at his paper-laden desk in the city hall, unaware of his fate, a minor middle-aged bureaucrat in a hive of jealous underlings. He sits there endlessly stamping approval on endless papers and forms, and at once we want to shout: "For God's sake, get out. You've wasted enough time. Get out and draw a few free breaths before it's too late."

We go with him to the hospital where, in spite of doctors' euphemisms, he perceives the truth. We see the initial paralyzing shock, and through quick, beautifully economical flashbacks, done with the understatement of Japanese painting, we see his past life, widowhood, loving care for his son. Then Watanabe arouses from his shock to do something: to use his last months somehow. The first impulse is the frantic one. He withdraws half his savings and, with the aid of a bohemian whom he meets, he tries to go on a spree. But he can't eat the food, the liquor sickens him, the trollops don't really answer his needs.

Then he encounters a bright, vital girl who used to be a clerk in his section and, only for the sake of her company, begins to spend time with her; but she is soon bored with him because all he does is sit and look at her. When she threatens to stop seeing him, he becomes panicky and tells her of his sickness, why he needs her, that just once before he dies, he wants to touch life warmly, fully, and that he wants her – the seeming well-spring of it – to teach him how.

But she, in splendid ignorance, replies that she doesn't understand him; she simply loves living and enjoys her new job – in a toy factory – because the toys give pleasure to thousands she will never see. The naïveté and obviousness of this do not prevent it from answering his question. He moves into a third phase. He returns to the office and takes up a petition of some mothers who have long pleaded to have a swampy lot in their slum neighborhood converted into a playground. Against massive bureaucratic resistance, Watanabe sets out to further their cause.

Here, alas, the film goes into an unduly long coda. When the doomed man begins his mission, we jump ahead to a wake held for him after his death. Various speeches are made at his funeral feast, there are numerous flashbacks filling us in on what happened between the last time we saw him alive and this occasion: how he fought the delays of office to realize his small ambition. This section is much too fully explored. If the wake had shown us the Deputy Mayor patronizing the dead man but claiming credit for the playground and had then shown us the policeman bringing in the dead man's hat (he died in the playground alone at night), that would have been sufficient. The last scene should have been that of the man sitting alone in a playground swing in the midnight snow, dying happily – if it is ever un-obscene to couple those two words.

This is a film rooted in the most universal of truths, the one that cuts across all cultural barriers, all concepts of love, success, God: the fact of mortality. It confronts that fact with honesty and a touching eagerness. Takashi Shimura, who (under the same director) was the woodcutter in *Rashomon* and the leader in *The Seven Samurai*, is magnificent as Watanabe: an actor who creates fiercely the indignity and helplessness and groveling fear of the man newly sentenced, along with the ravening hunger for sensual pleasure, then for spiritual refreshment, then for a crumb of achievement to be his immortality.

Excepting the slack editorial hand toward the end, it would be hard to overpraise Akira Kurosawa's direction. He clearly has all the resources of film technique at his command and, confident of his knowledge, is not constrained to display it. Fancy montages, whirling effects, bizarre angles are not for him. It is his purpose to make life seem to occur and, like a true artist, he does this by showing less than would occur in life. He selects his elements perfectly, never lets the emotional scenes stray past sentiment to sentimentality, and with unmelodramatic juxtaposition weaves the elements in his story, letting the rhythm as well as the content flick away at our sensibilities with gentle, telling strokes.

As for the wake, which seems discursive, since the ceremonial itself is more meaningful to a Japanese than it could be to us, the irony of its treatment here is bound to be somewhat ineffectual. The purely human elements in the film are placeless; ritual, both in life and art, is parochial.

The only film comparable to this that I can remember is de Sica's *Umberto D.* which too treats of the failing of the light, but *Ikiru* is, for me, more powerful. (Incidentally, it is a strong refutation of one aspect of neo-realism, which *Umberto D.* represents. Kurosawa's fine cast, especially Shimura, is more credible and affecting than any carefully coached group of "real" people could possibly be.) Moreover, it is not an exercise in gloom. Because it faces and penetrates and diminishes true horror, the film achieves a measure of Tolstoy's effect: it shrives and strengthens.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

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RECORDS

Operas and Operatic Excerpts

Birgit Nilsson, the soprano whose sensational first appearance in *Tristan und Isolde* at the Metropolitan this season elicited comparisons with Flagstad, is to be heard on London 5537 (mono) and OS-25138 (stereo) in the first-act narrative (with Grace Hoffman, contralto) and finale of *Tristan*, which she sings with the Vienna Philharmonic under Knappertsbusch, who in addition conducts the orchestra in the Prelude. As one who heard Flagstad's first Isolde at the Metropolitan in 1935 I can testify that Nilsson's voice doesn't have the unique voluminous luster that Flagstad's had on that occasion and thereafter; but it is a remarkably beautiful voice, which produces even its highest notes as effortlessly as Flagstad's did, and which like Flagstad's is deployed in admirably shaped musical phrases.

Nilsson, who also made one appearance in *Fidelio* at the Metropolitan, can be heard in a powerful performance of *"Abscheulicher! wo eilst du hin?"* from that opera on Angel 35719 (mono) and S-35719 (stereo); and the records offer additional powerful performances of *"Or sai chi l'onore"* from *Don Giovanni*, *"Ozean, du Ungeheuer"* from *Oberon* and Beethoven's *Ah, perfido*, and lovely singing in *"Wie nahte mir der Schlummer"* from *Der Freischuetz*. The London Philharmonia plays the accompaniments conducted by Heinz Wallberg.

Another great soprano voice, Eileen Farrell's, with more amplitude and splendor in its middle and lower range, produces superb performances of the same Beethoven pieces and *Freischuetz* aria, and in addition *"Ob die Wolke sie verhuelle"* from *Der Freischuetz*, Neris' aria from Cherubini's *Medea* and an aria from *Alceste*. It's regrettable that Columbia didn't record Farrell earlier, when her high notes also had the splendor in addition to their present clarity and power; and it's regrettable that Columbia even now doesn't consider her worthy of a full-sized orchestra for the accompaniments conducted here by Max Rudolf.

A young singer who has made outstanding appearances in the last two Glyndebourne Festivals, the Spanish mezzo-soprano Teresa Berganza, is on London 5514 (mono) and OS-25106 (stereo) in arias by Rossini: *"Una voce poco fa" and "Contro un cor"* from *The Barber of Seville*, *"Nacqui all' affanno"* from *La Cenerentola*, arias from *L'Italiana in Algeri* and *Semiramide*, and *"Fac ut portem"* from the *Stabat Mater*. The voice is agreeable, steady and clear; the bravura florid singing is done with a sense for the shape of the phrase; and what is almost without precedent is that – except for little cadenzas at cadence points – Berganza sings the notes Rossini wrote in the arias from *The Barber*, instead of the traditional interpolations, and actually sings all the notes in rapid florid passages, instead of only half of them. Alexander Gibson conducts the London Symphony.

London presents – only on OS-24112 (stereo) – another fine Spanish singer, the baritone Manuel Ausensi, in impressive performances of Figaro's three arias from *The Marriage of Figaro*, the Champagne Aria and Serenade from *Don Giovanni*, *"Donne mie, la fate a tanti" from Cosi fan Tutte*, and the aria *"Rivolgete a lui"* that Mozart omitted from *Cosi*. The Champagne Aria is sung much more slowly than usually, but is convincing that way as Ausenio sings it. The reverse side has Cimarosa's amusing *Il Maestro di Capella*. R. Lamote de Grignon conducts the Gran Orquesta Sinfonica.

On London 5438 (mono) and OS-25044 (stereo) George London's bass-baritone voice is richly sonorous in Sachs's two monologues from *Die Meistersinger;* but the singing is made less effective by the excessively slow tempos of the Vienna Philharmonic's playing under Knappertsbusch. The record also offers Wotan's Farewell and the Magic Fire Music from *Die Walkuere* and *"Die Frist ist um"* from *The Flying Dutchman*, in which London has sung at the Metropolitan this season.

London OS-25082 (stereo) has Tebaldi's lovely and expansive singing in excerpts from the stereophonic versions of the complete recordings of *Il Trovatore* and *La Forza del Destino*, with the Willow Song and *"Ave Maria"* from what I presume is the monophonic recording of *Otello*.

And Rococo 21 has two famous sopranos of the past, Lillian Nordica and Olive Fremstad – the first anything but impressive in voice and phrasing in the dubbed performances on this record, but the second very impressive indeed in arias that include *"O don fatale"* from *Don Carlo*, *"Connais-tu le pays"* from *Mignon* and *"Dich teure Halle"* from *Tannhaeuser*.

The new *Aida* on London A-4345 (mono) and OSA-1313 (stereo) has beautiful playing of the orchestral part by the Vienna Philharmonic under Von Karajan, leisurely tempos which permit the expansive singing of Tebaldi, Simionato, Bergonzi and Cornell MacNeil, and recorded sound of present-day richness. I must mention that Tebaldi is not securely on pitch in the high C of "O patria mia"; that in the stereo version the recorded sound of her voice changes strikingly at the words *"Imprechero la morte a Radames"* in *"Ritorna vincitor"*; and that the on-stage voices are sometimes distant from the microphone. I would say the Toscanini performance is still the one to acquire.

The new *Barber of Seville* on Victor LM-6143 (mono) and LSC-6143 (stereo) offers the work with all the customary cuts restored and a Metropolitan performance conducted by Leinsdorf, with Merrill, Roberta Peters, Valletti, Corena and Tozzi. The restorations give us our first hearing of the Count's final aria, but also large amounts of recitative that are wearying in a recorded performance; and though the cuts are restored, the singers are still allowed their traditional florid interpolations in place of what Rossini wrote. These are especially numerous in Rosina's arias, and

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are made especially objectionable, for me, by Peters' brash style. Valletti sings melody beautifully, but only half the notes in rapid florid passages. And Leinsdorf doesn't achieve anything like the refined orchestral and vocal execution, tone and style that make the Angel performance conducted by Galliera outstanding.

A major pleasure from the *Carmen* on Capitol GCR-7207 (mono) and SGCR-7202 (stereo) is the brightness and life imparted to the shabby, battered work by Beecham's conducting. De los Angeles, whose lovely voice would seem to be that of a Micaela rather than a Carmen, achieves a suitable vehemence for the title role; and there is excellent singing also by Gedda, Janine Micheau and Ernest Blanc with the National Orchestra of the French Radio.

The old Cetra performance of *L'Elisir d'Amore* is conducted with better tempos and style by Gavazzeni; but the La Scala performance conducted by Serafin on Angel 3594 (mono) and S-3594 (stereo) is on the whole better sung by Rosanna Carteri, Luigi Alva, Panerai and Taddei; and it is of course reproduced with more beautiful sound.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Catholics and Freedom

Sirs:

William Clancy in his review of my *God and Man in Washington* (February 22) reaches the conclusion that there is in me a notable shortage of intelligence. Since I have had a suspicion for some time that this finding may be correct, it did not come as a strikingly new revelation. What did disturb me was that readers of *The New Republic* might accept this finding by Mr. Clancy as the judgment of an independent and qualified critic.

The New Republic, presumably, is a journal of integrity. Or is it? Isn't it one of the elementary rules of honest journalism that when an editor sets out to commit mayhem upon an author, he should give his readers some warning that the exhibition they are about to witness is mayhem and not independent criticism?

In this case it was, presumably, your Roman Catholic literary editor, Robert Evett, who assigned my book for review to Mr. Clancy, and thus gave him an opportunity to vent old grudges. And Mr. Clancy was carefully described by strictly neutral words designed to conceal the facts that (1) he is a Catholic; (2) he has long been a professional Catholic; and (3) he has long been a public enemy of mine. The dictionary defines prejudice as preconceived judgment. Would you turn over a book on American labor unions to Senator Barry Goldwater, and then describe him in your contributors' box as "a speaker at labor conventions."?

Mr. Clancy made his discovery about my shortage in intelligence at least seven years ago, and he has been disseminating the gist of it assiduously ever since then. During a considerable part of that period he served as a professional Catholic on the editorial staff of *The Commonweal*, a good liberal magazine which has specialized since 1948 in exposing, expounding and correcting the aforementioned shortage in my intelligence. In *The Commonweal* of November 27, 1953 Mr. Clancy discovered that I was "the most celebrated prophet" of something called "the New Nativism," whose central idea he described as "the idea of the completely autonomous, thoroughly laicized, anti-religious State," a description which was as absurd in 1953 as in 1960. I am, quite simply, an ordinary liberal democrat who wants to preserve a free culture.

As recently as 1958 and 1959, Mr. Clancy and I had a spirited exchange of letters in *Christianity and Crisis* in which I (1) demonstrated to my own satisfaction that he was understating the actual severity of the Catholic policy in suppressing birth control, and (2) accused him of sending out his genteel misrepresentations of Catholic policy from the safe shelter of a non-Catholic organization where he is now employed, the Church Peace Union. I believe that my view of Catholic discipline on birth control has since been vindicated by the bishops' statement last November.

Mr. Clancy says that: "Mr. Blanshard cannot understand how a man can accept democracy on the *political* level and still accept the authority of a teaching Church on the spiritual level." If Catholic authority were confined to the spiritual level, there would be no serious church-state problem involved. The whole point of my criticism of Catholic policy has been that the dictated policies of the hierarchy on the allegedly spiritual level overlap and flatly contradict certain democratic principles in political areas. Authoritarian rule negatives democratic choice for Catholics in the areas of birth control, divorce, censorship, the maintenance of a separate denominational school system, mixed marriage, hospital practice, and the appropriation of public money to sectarian enterprise. In these areas American Catholics are not free citizens if they accept the full teaching of their church.

Mr. Clancy carefully refrained from discussing any one of these areas. In fact he scarcely mentioned the central theme or content of a book which is not primarily concerned with Catholicism but with the whole panorama of religion and government in the United States.

Paul Blanshard
Washington, D. C.

[Mr. Clancy has been invited to reply.]

Sirs:

The crucial question that Mr. Clancy asserts that Paul Blanshard and other "bigots" fail to grasp, "the basic distinctions between society and religion . . ." is the very one that any candidate for public office is responsible to elucidate most clearly. When these distinctions become blurred, and the church's influence becomes felt in the political sphere (instances of which Mr. Blanshard's research attests), individual rights may suffer. Any young couple residing in Connecticut or Massachusetts feels the impact of the Catholic lobby's views on contraception quite heavily.

George W. Douglas
New Haven, Conn.

Sirs:

Any informed Protestant or Jew knows that it is impossible to separate the Catholic beliefs from political life. The hierarchy is a political power as well as a religious power. It is a good thing for our democracy that we have informed Protestants like Mr. Blanshard who can, and *do* explain publicly the dangers of the Catholic hierarchy to our

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form of government. The example of the influence of the hierarchy in non-religious matters is in evidence in the Chessman execution. The Church is using its influence on the Catholic governor there to supersede the law.

Ruth N. Hardin
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Sirs:

Blanshard is engaged in an honest effort to alert his fellow-Americans to the threat to their basic freedoms which is implicit in the hierarchy's never faltering outreach for political power and which has characterized it since the days of Constantine . . . In the Western Hemisphere, the Roman church, in close collaboration with the "so-called intelligentia" – successors to the Conquistadores – has kept Latin America a sinkhole of poverty, ignorance and human degradation for 450 years. Through illiteracy, helpless peonage has been deliberately maintained. It is likewise in Portugal, Spain and Italy its cradle. Only the Moslem hierarchy across the Mediterranean has achieved a greater degree of human degradation.

Arthur B. Hewson
Chicago, Illinois

The Kennedy Strategy

Sirs:

As an old admirer of *The New Republic's* dedication to liberalism, I was astonished by your apparent endorsement of the anti-liberal delegate formula imposed by the Humphrey forces in Wisconsin. Your article on "The Kennedy Strategy" (February 15) sees nothing "improper" about a change in the rules – after Senator Kennedy had come into the primary – and the first such change since Bob LaFollette sponsored the Wisconsin Presidential Primary – which enables a minority of voters to be represented at the Convention by a majority of the delegates.

Gus Tyler and others have written many times in *The New Republic* about gerrymandering state legislatures and Congressional delegations in favor of sparsely populated counties, denying an equal voice to the more liberal, more numerous city dwellers. You have opposed the Mundt-Coudert proposal to base the Presidency on this same basis of malapportioned Congressional districts. You have criticized the Georgia county unit system which denied to the citizens of Atlanta the right to have their full strength reflected in the election results.

But now you see nothing "improper" in this move aimed at preventing a Kennedy popular majority from being translated into a majority of the delegates – dismissing its obvious injustices with the parenthetical statement that "Kennedy support is heaviest in a few populous areas." This is the very kind of statement the "area-crats" have always used to justify their suppression of liberal urban majorities. To imply further that this formula was contained in the National Committee's 1960 Convention Call is wholly contrary to fact.

By demonstrating his faith in the democratic process (not in money, as you suggest, for that has played no role at all in his Wisconsin organization), by taking his case to the people rather than to a few political leaders – Senator Kennedy is winning the support of liberals.

Clement J. Zablocki
Member of Congress
4th District, Wisconsin

In Reply:

We were not defending unproportional representation. We were noting that the Wisconsin Democratic Executive Committee has the right and the responsibility to decide how its state's 31 convention votes shall be allocated. It did it in a way which could be prejudicial to Senator Kennedy, for it gave added weight to votes by Congressional districts and less weight to the at-large vote. But at least one Kennedy supporter on the committee concurred in that decision. Kennedy backers rightly point out that under the new Wisconsin formula, their candidate could poll as much as 57 percent of the total Democratic primary vote and receive less than a majority of the delegates. And gerrymandering of Congressional districts (which the Democratic Executive Committee cannot change) is responsible for this. For example, the 10th district has 230,000 people and the 4th district about 550,000 – yet each will cast the same two and a half votes in the primary. But the issue in Wisconsin was not whether the winner should take all (as in California), but how many votes each of the 10 Congressional districts should have. The decision was made that each be given two and a half rather than two. Put another way, there will be five fewer delegates-at-large than there would have been under the old formula. *The New Republic* did not intend to suggest that the National Democratic Committee's 1960 Convention Call made it obligatory for Wisconsin Democrats to allocate their vote as they did. But we cannot see that their action was "improper." Nor can we believe that only Kennedy is "taking his case to the people rather than to a few political leaders."

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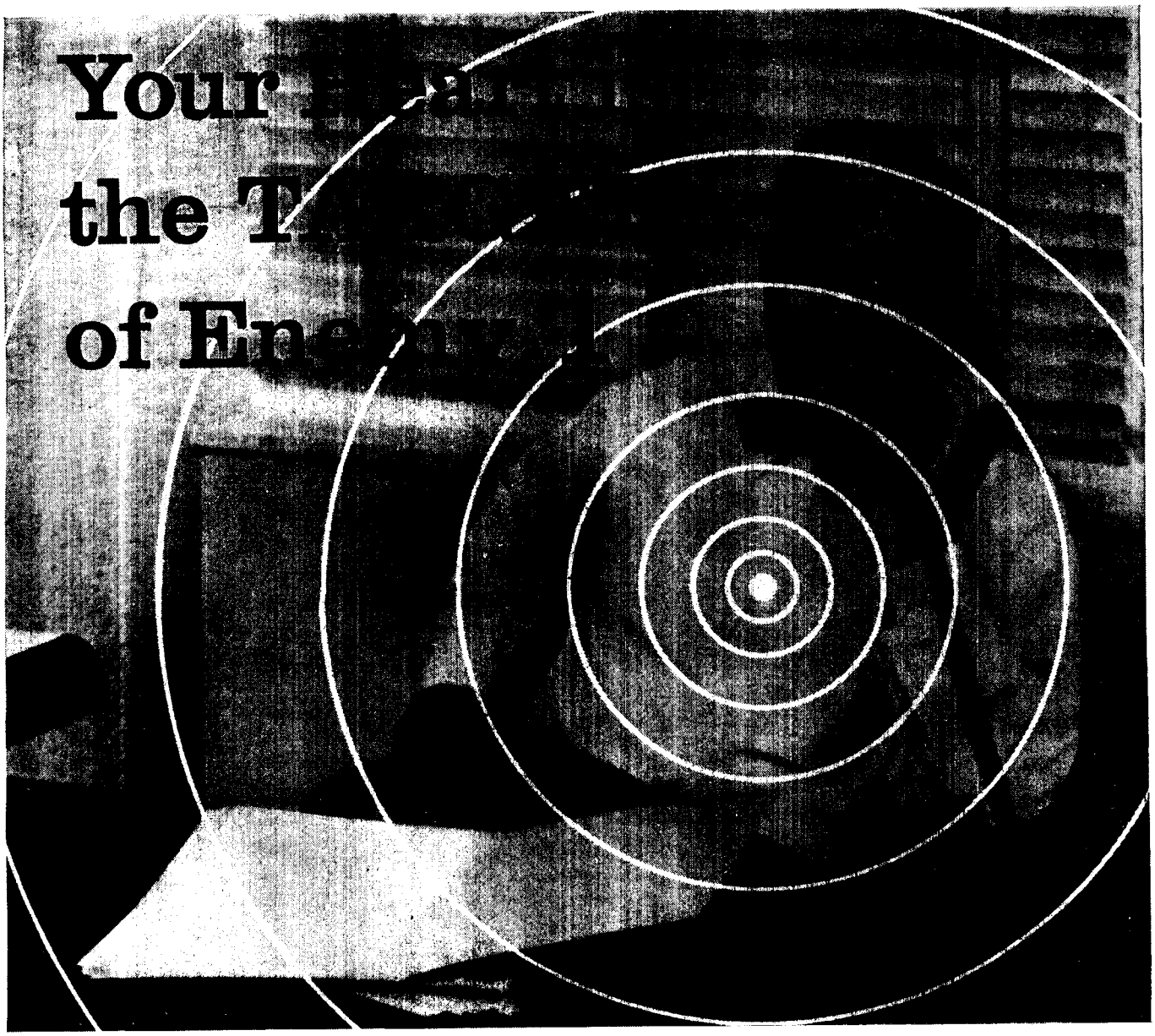

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